Palestine Exploration Quarterly

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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Quarterly Statement

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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE continuance of the war compels us to remind our subscribers and readers that during the past year Exploration of any kind in Palestine has been out of the question. To repeat what we observed a year ago, we may remark that we have been requested to suspend the issue or sale of our maps, especially of our new and revised edition of the general map, and new survey of the South Country, the Wilderness of the Wanderings, which was only just completed when war broke out. This has naturally entailed some inconvenience and considerable loss which, however, we cheerfully accept, seeing how largely we have been indebted to the War Office for allowing us to make use of the Officers of the Royal Engineers for all our Surveys and for the able service they have rendered in the past. In the meantime we may feel sure that after the war is finished and peace concluded we shall be able to carry on our work with greater facilities; and it is hoped that this pause will enable the Society to accumulate funds sufficient to undertake some of those more important examinations of ancient sites for which our means have not hitherto been equal. The Committee are fully alive to the claims and historical importance of several such sites, and will be ready when the time comes to set to work and, it may be hoped, without the long official delays which have, in so many cases, wasted time and money.

There are still many subjects of interest for discussion in the *Quarterly Statement*—Biblical, historical or archaeological; and the Committee trust that in reading or contributing to these the

subscribers will find, in the coming months, matter to compensate them for a temporary exercise of the patience which the war has made inevitable.

We print in this issue the conclusion of Miss Blyth's account of "Lord Kitchener's Work in Palestine." We have also been fortunate enough to find among the papers of Lord Kitchener a description of "Christmas at Bethlehem." So far as is known it has never been printed, and our subscribers will read it with interest. We have also a MS. left by the late Chairman, a description of Bonaparte's Expedition to Palestine in 1799, which is of special value just now. As it seemed undesirable to divide this rather lengthy article in two, it has been found necessary to hold over other important articles, including the contributions by Dr. Masterman and Prof. Macalister and Mr. Offord's Archaeological and other notes. We are able, however, to include Mr. Baldensperger's "Immovable East" with his account of Jaffa, which it is hoped will add to the topical interest of this the opening number of the new year.

An article in *The Near East* (1st December) on "Recent Conditions in Palestine" gives a very sad description of the internal conditions. Although the harvest has been good, the country has derived hardly any benefit from it, owing to the action of the authorities and the exorbitant prices. The greatest suffering is caused by the want of fuel and of lighting, and this is likely to be much increased as the winter draws on. "Even fruit trees have been cut down for wood, which is needed for the engines of the trains, now run for military purposes only. The destitution and exhaustion of the whole land are terrible." "Over all hangs the haunting dread that any incautious word or aspiration overheard and reported by a spy may be interpreted as showing 'pro-Ally' feeling, thus leading to the speaker being dragged before the authorities."

A letter has lately been received from an old member of the Society, an American subject, who left Palestine a few months ago, and is now in Europe. He writes that he was "surprised to see (in the April *Quarterly Statement*) a quotation from the *Morning Post* of March 14th, and papers of Alexandria, etc., 'Public executions are

frequent.' That is not so, or was not up to the time of my leaving Palestine." We are glad to learn from his letter that those persons who were said to have been executed were all alive at the time he left Palestine; and he concludes his letter by saying: "I can state that not one-tenth of the executions have taken place in Palestine and Syria which I have heard of since I arrived, as having happened during the last two years."

We regret to have to record the death, on 3rd October, of Mr. R. Phené Spiers, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., Member of the General Committee, and a very prominent figure in the architectural world. He edited Fergusson's History of Architecture, and wrote many works on the Greek, Roman and Oriental architecture. To the *Quarterly Statement* he contributed articles on the Great Mosque of Omeiyades at Damascus (1897, pp. 282–299), and on Baalbek (1904, pp. 58–64).

We regret to read (in *The Near East*) of the death, at the age of 92, of the Rev. Daniel Bliss, D.D., the venerable ex-President of the famous American College of Beyrout. He was the last surviving member of the American Mission which arrived in Syria in the middle of the last century, and which played a leading part in the moral and intellectual development of the Syrians. He landed at Beyrout with his wife by sailing vessel in 1855. A few years afterwards he returned to the United States with the object of raising funds for the establishment of a college in Beyrout, as he found, from his few years' experience in Syria, that the country was in more need of such an institution than anything else. His efforts in this direction were crowned with success, and he was greatly assisted by some members of the wealthy Dodge family of New York, who played a leading part later in the advancement of the college. Subscriptions were collected and invested in securities of the Northern States while the Civil War was in progress. The final success of the Northern States increased the value of these securities, and Dr. Bliss found at his disposal a fairly large sum with which to start his institution. In 1866 he bought a large plot of land at Ras Beyrout facing the sea, and subsequently added to it other plots in the vicinity. He established a Preparatory School,

a Collegiate Department, and a School of Medicine and Pharmacy, and, in 1900, a School of Commerce was added. A few years ago a branch of Dentistry was also established. Dr. Bliss continued to preside over the faculty of the College until 1902, when he retired on account of old age, and his son, Dr. Howard Bliss, succeeded him. The students of the American College numbered about 1,000 before the war. It was the intention, had the war not broken out, to add branches of Law and Engineering, and to call the institution a University.

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

We have received, through Prof. Paton, the General Secretary in the United States, a communication written by Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, the Local Secretary for North Dakota. Prof. Stearns has for some time past been advocating "international protection for great museums, galleries, etc." War and conquest, he points out, have repeatedly led to spoliation and destruction of objects and collections of artistic and historic value. All collections, museums, etc., have "more than passing or local interest, they render a service that transcends national lines and therefore are to be considered the heritage of all men in all times though held in stewardship by corporations and governments." He consequently proposes:—(1) "that all such collections shall be regarded as inviolable, as

beyond the vicissitudes of war, as sacred from spoliation, and as under a common or at least a neutral flag; and (2) that it be considered incumbent on this organization to do everything possible to secure such protection, through diplomacy, correspondence, and petition in coming international conferences and agreements." He asks: "could not a committee of scholars be appointed, men whose achievements entitle them to respectful hearing, to draft resolutions for consideration and action by state departments?" The ideal seems to us thoroughly commendable, though obviously the Society cannot, in the present condition of Europe, take any part in establishing the suggested organization. We have much pleasure in printing the proposals at Prof. Paton's request, and we wish the movement in the United States all success.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. The year 1915, being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of

Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land. Colonel Watson's book (see the last paragraph) is having a steady sale; it should be read by all who would make themselves acquainted with the progress of Palestinian research.

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary.* An edition of the latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 11.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual—i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so

strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were :—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, 1915, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s*. 6*d*. If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its

continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s.* Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s.*

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s.* 9*d.* unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s.* 6*d.* Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1915 was given in the Annual Report published with last April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology: Vol. XXXVIII, Part 6, Some Groups of Arabian Personal Names borne by Israelites of the Mosaic Period (*continued*), by Rev. W. T. Pilter ; Samaritan Phylacteries and Amulets (*continued*), by Dr. Gaster.

The Expository Times, Dec., 1916 : New Light on the Hittite Problem, by Prof. J. H. Moulton.

Irish Theological Quarterly.

Studies, Sept., 1916 : The Mohammedan Caliphate, by "Dynamis" ; etc.

The Near East: A weekly review of Oriental Politics, Literature, Finance and Commerce. Regular letters from special correspondents in Palestine and Syria ; etc. Dec. 15, The Future of Palestine, I, by Estelle Blyth.

45*th Report of the Anglo-Jewish Association*, 1915–16.

The Biblical World.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XX, 3 : Archaeological News from Egypt ; etc.

The American Journal of Philology.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. IV, Parts 2–5 : The Ancient City of Petra, by G. L. Robinson ; Studio of an Egyptian Portrait Sculptor in the XIVth century, B.C., by J. H. Breasted ; etc.

The Homiletic Review.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Jan.–June, 1915 : Princes Hellénistiques, Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy VI, Antiochos VIII, Grypos, by Gustave Blum ; etc. etc.

Échos d'Orient, 1916, Nos. 112, 113 : Les aspects religieux de la question d'Orient, etc., by S. Salaville ; La question arménienne, by P. Horste ; etc.

Sphinx, Vol. XII : The Harris Magical Papyrus transcribed and published by Ernest Akmar.

See further below, p. 51.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

From Mrs. Ross Scott :—

The Archaeology of the Holy Land, by P. S. P. Handcock, M.A.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, *p.* 172.)

The General Characteristics of the Different Towns.

II.—Jaffa.[1]

Yāfa (يافا), like all the coast towns, has had its ups and downs; certainly one of the most ancient towns of the Levant, it has only slightly changed its name between Japheth, Japho, and Yāfa. When an Egyptian conqueror once more had destroyed the town, he said: "Hāfa, and not Yāfa, shall your name be"; *hāfe* (حافة) is "famished," but the name only remained in tradition. This reminds us how often conquerors tried to change names, either as punishment or in honour of the victor, but the old name appears again after a few years. To give a nickname, or an imprecation to rhyme with the old name, or resembling the name in some distorted way, has been the habit of the Hebrews as well. An admirable example of this is found when the prophet Zephaniah, foretelling the judgment of the Philistine cities, says (chap. ii, v. 4): "Gaza shall be forsaken (*'azūbah*); Ashkelon a desolation (*shĕmāmah*); Ashdod driven out at noon; Ekron shall be rooted up (*tē'āḳēr*)."

Jaffa is now the most important town in the maritime plains, and second to Jerusalem. Being its nearest port, its fortune depends wholly on Jerusalem, through the pilgrims and commerce which follows. It is principally famous for the immense area occupied by the orange gardens, where the finest oranges of the Mediterranean region grow, and are exported in large numbers into Europe. But the fertile plains of Sharon and Philistia pour in their wealth, consisting chiefly of wheat and barley, sesame and dura. The town is

[1] [It will of course be borne in mind that these sketches, including this account of Jaffa, were written by Mr. Baldensperger several years ago. -Ed.]

built on a cliff, and has a very bad harbour, protected by a line of rocks which render the approach most dangerous in bad weather. As a consequence, the Jaffa sailors are the most intrepid throughout the whole Levant. Being intrepid, they are often impudent, and, when the tempest-tossed travellers arrive in the roadstead of Jaffa, with the alternative of continuing the tossing for perhaps many days, or paying many pounds for crossing the half-mile of angry sea, this last expedient is often chosen; and, be it said to the honour of the sailors, they conduct their boats artistically over the foaming waves and round the dangerous line of rocks safely into the harbour. Accidents are very rare indeed, and it is safe to entrust oneself to these strong men, who will not venture if they think it impossible. The extortion may therefore be excused –at least very often —and their impudence is calmed at once if gold can be expected as a reward for their courage.

As the gardens are watered by the water-wheel system, drawn up by mules, the repairing and arranging of the chains and cog-wheels employ many blacksmiths. In bygone days the water-pots, which are now made of wood or iron, were of earthenware, and the Ramleh potteries flourished. Wood for the boxes in which the oranges are packed is imported from Marseilles, Trieste, or Messina. Hundreds of porters are employed in carrying the boxes; others pick the oranges and wrap them in silk-paper. The common oranges for Smyrna and Constantinople are packed without wrappers. Though a considerable seaport for commerce, no docks are to be found in Jaffa, probably on account of the absence of forests. Beyrût builds the boats of all the towns from the Nahr Ibrahim to the River of Egypt. In consequence of the import of European goods exclusively by this port, the population has more than trebled in the course of the nineteenth century, and as it is not possible to have increased to this extent naturally, the actual inhabitants are more than two-thirds strangers, being not only foreigners of the region, but even of Palestine. The merchants who formerly lived in Ramleh, the Government seat, began to come here when Jaffa became safer. The present inhabitants can even all of them be called *uitlanders*, for the town was uninhabited from the day of its destruction by Bibars in A.D. 1267 to the end of the seventeenth century, and was re-colonised by S'leiman Pasha in the beginning of the eighteenth century; thus, for nearly five centuries, it was virtually abandoned. The present population, though chiefly Arabs, yet has

representatives of at least twenty five different nations. Palestine Arabs and Egyptians form the great bulk. Every community has an acknowledged leader responsible before the authorities for those who are in any respect under his orders.

The mariners are generally Neo Jaffaites and mostly Moslems. The merchants are mostly Christians, and often in connection with Greeks and Cypriotes, who are the owners of cafés and brandy-shops. Jews are steadily increasing, especially since the Russian immigration in 1880, and whole colonies have been formed north of the town. Necessarily they possess the minor commerce for the wants of their own people. The Ashkenazi are the most numerous, not only from the continual fresh arrivals from Europe, but because Jaffa is the head station of the many colonies which are spread about in the plains round about; but as agriculture is not very much to their taste, those who are dissatisfied return here to try their hands at a more congenial occupation.

The negroes, under the supervision of their chief, the *Sheikh el-'Abīd* (شيخ العبيد), live mostly amongst the Egyptians, in the small colonies in the midst of the gardens. Though originally inhabitants of almost every country north of the Equator in Africa, they fraternize and are all zealous Moslems, and are often more fanatical than the founders of Islam themselves. The more aristocratic negroes of Darfur and Takruria, known as *tukārnet* (تكارنة), and who, in past years, were the indispensable doorkeepers of every respectable house, are now disappearing. The older residents of Jerusalem used to see them in their snowy white gowns and turbans. They would sit almost motionless at the gates of the convents or houses, saying their prayers on their rosaries, and were very much sought after on account of their sobriety and fidelity.

The present black population differs in many ways. They are recruited from runaway slaves, or from those who have been liberated in consequence of the law for the freedom of slaves, or from returning pilgrims who cannot fight their way home. They are said to be very vindictive and proud, irascible, and fond of gaudy clothes; when they are bound to some feast or voyage, they pass hours in the meticulous arrangement of their toilets. As a rule they are day-labourers, and are especially employed to pick up oranges and carry them to town. Few or none are sailors, but some are artisans and agriculturists. Though, as above remarked,

they are zealous Mohammedans, yet they often meet together after work and feast in noisy revels around the *buza* (بوزة), a fermented drink made of barley or dura. A drummer or two will sit and begin their rhythmic tapping: the negroes first take a cup of *buza* from the central vessel: then one of them begins to dance round the fire which burns in the courtyard (as they are generally out of doors): a second and third dancer gradually begin drinking and dancing is increased. A wooden pipe, the *shabābat*, is brought forth and an expert piper plays negro airs, which never vary very much, rising and falling along the notes of an octave or two. When the *buza* has begun its effects, they accompany their native airs in their native tongues—first a few, then more and more, till the height of frenzy is reached. They now dance against their own shadows, bending themselves in most fantastic shapes, and making hideous grimaces against them. When the *buza* is ended and the revellers are drunk, the fires are quenched; they lie down often tired out, and the feast ends after midnight as quietly as it has begun. The negroes marry and divorce very easily amongst themselves without many ceremonies. They are disliked by the white population for being without family ties and, as a rule, without property.

The Egyptians live in the settlements called *saknāt* (سكنات), and though they have been here for about seventy years, they have still the Egyptian fashion of clothes, the black mantles (شالة) for the men, and the nose and mouth veil, *burko'* (برقع), for the women. The pronunciation of the *j* [ج] in *jamal* or *jum'at* is still preserved by the elder generation, who pronounce it like the Hebrew *g*, as *gamal* and *gum'at*; but the younger generation will pronounce the Jaffa Arabic ere long and also renounce the Egyptian veil. They are chiefly gardeners in the orange gardens, or agriculturists, and are of less violent character than the Palestine Arabs.

The North Africans, *Maghārbet* (مغاربة), live around the mosques and are generally employed as guardians of the orange groves, or of the melon gardens and dura fields. There are a few settled families, but the bulk of this population are here only for a few months, sometimes year after year, as they find employment on their way to the Haj, or on their return home. They may marry here among the indigenous population, a step which neither the negroes nor the Egyptians can boast of. They are good guardians

on account of their natural character, but at the same time can become very dangerous to their employers. The homeward journey is usually calculated to last two years by land: they visit the shrines on their way, and accept service as they proceed through Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, and so forth. Much as they seem to dislike French rule on the outward journey, they all claim French protection as soon as they live under Turkey, and ask the French Consul's assistance. They carry all their worldly goods with them, consisting of a few clothes, and arms, such as sword, rifle, dagger, and a club. Consequently, a serious dispute with them is very dangerous: they easily slay a man and disappear, pursuit is rare as they would never hesitate to slay a second or third man; in contrast to the local Arabs they become even more fierce after a murder. Their bellicose disposition has been put to the test for ages in the Orient, and before the establishment of regular Turkish troops, the Pashas, as Ali Bek and Jezzar, in the eighteenth century, always had a small garrison of those Maghrabis as well as body-guards.

Asiatics from every part of the Moslem world, such as Persians, Afghans, Hindus, Beluchis, are merchants. They sell carpets, arms, knives, and all small iron and steel articles of their countries' manufacture; they sit down in a corner of a street or have little shops, and never learn very much Arabic, but what they do they speak with a very strong foreign accent.

The European settlers are mostly Germans, living in the two colonies of Jaffa and Sarona belonging to the Templars. They are artisans and agriculturists, or drive carriages between Jaffa and Jerusalem, Nablus and Haifa. This last is another of their colonies. As a consequence of their exclusive methods, they know little or no Arabic at all.

Jaffa idiom is not a very marked one, as is only to be expected from the presence of so many representatives of different nations, for the rural population, mostly Egyptians and Gaza inhabitants, pronounce the *j* (ج) and *k* (ك) or *k* (ق) almost alike, as the Hebrew *g* and the English *g* in gold. The negroes have, beside their own language, a corrupt Negro-Arabic, pronouncing the ' (ع) and *gh* (غ) with difficulty, and making no difference between *h* (ح) and *kh* (خ) or between *t* (ت), *th* (ث), *d* (ض), and *t* (ط), or *d* (د). The North Africans talk the Arabic of their country, with as few vowels as possible; thus, instead of saying *bahârr* (بحر), "the sea," they

pronounce it as though it were written *bhr*, and *mattarr* (مطر), "rain," as *mttrr*.

The others have a firmer pronunciation than the inhabitants of Jerusalem, but they also ignore the *ḳ* (ق), and pronounce *sh* as *s*.

(*To be continued.*)

BONAPARTE'S EXPEDITION TO PALESTINE IN 1799.[1]

By the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., R.E., etc.

At the present time, when there is so much talk as to the prospects of a Turkish attack on Egypt from the east, and an attempt being made to interfere with the traffic in the Suez Canal, it is natural that we should turn to the history of the past, in order to see what lessons can be learnt from what actually happened in days gone by, which may be useful for guidance in existing circumstances. And one of the episodes of special interest from this point of view is the story of the invasion of Palestine by Napoleon Bonaparte, then a young general at the beginning of his remarkable career, as his action shows clearly what he considered was the most effective way of protecting Egypt against an attack directed against it from the east, and the manner in which he would probably have dealt with the protection of the Suez Canal if he had charge of the operations.

The facts connected with the French occupation of Egypt in 1798 are now almost forgotten except by some students of military history, although this occupation led to results of considerable importance in the conflict between England and the French Republic, and, in the following paragraphs, it is not proposed to deal with them except in a general way, and in so far as is necessary in connection with the expedition to Palestine.

There can be no doubt that the advantages to be gained by France, if she could obtain possession of Egypt, had been under the consideration of the French Government for a long period, and the

[1] [Although Sir Charles Watson did not live to read the proofs of this article, it is felt that it is too interesting not to be printed, consequently it is reproduced as it left his hands with only slight modifications.—Ed.]

councillors of Louis XIV had fully realized that the land of the Nile was the key to the commerce of the East, and that its occupation would be an effective means of checking the increase of English influence in India. But circumstances had not proved propitious, and nothing had come of the idea before the abolition of the French Monarchy and the establishment of the Republic in 1792, so that it was not until after the successful campaigns conducted by General Bonaparte in Italy during the years 1796–97, that the proposition took a definite form, and there appears little doubt that this was due to the initiation of Bonaparte himself, who was well acquainted with the history of the question, and who saw that the moment had arrived for taking action. His work in Italy was concluded by the Treaty of Campo Formio in October, 1797, and, when he returned to Paris in January, 1798, he was probably the most popular man in France, too popular indeed to suit the ideas of the Executive Directory, which had established itself as the Government of the Republic on a rather insecure basis on September 4th, 1797. Bonaparte had a magnificent reception on his arrival in Paris, and might possibly have seized the reins of power at that time, but he felt that it would be better to wait a little, both to strengthen his own position, and also, probably, because he foresaw that, if he gave them the opportunity, the Directors would make themselves more unpopular with the people. The Directors, on the other hand, were anxious to keep Bonaparte under control, as they recognized him as a dangerous opponent, and, with this object in view, appointed him to the command of an army which was being organized for the invasion of England.

Bonaparte accepted the position, and visited the north coast of France in order to study the question, when he came to the conclusion that the operation was not likely to be attended with success, as the English fleet was too strong in the Channel, and it seems to have been at this time that he made a definite proposal to the Executive Directory that he should command an expedition designed to occupy Egypt, a proposal that suited both parties, as Bonaparte gained an opportunity of earning further military distinction, while the Directors felt that the troublesome young man would be removed to a long distance from Paris, and that, possibly, he might never come back.

The expeditionary force was rapidly organized, and, early in May, 1798, five divisions of infantry, 1,000 cavalry without horses,

and 3,000 artillery, or about 32,000 men in all, were embarked at Toulon, and sailed for the East, escorted by a powerful squadron under Admiral Brueys. Malta was reached early in June, and occupied without difficulty, as von Hompisch, a German, the Grand Master of the Order of St. John, treacherously surrendered the fortifications in consideration of a large bribe promised to him by Bonaparte, who, after leaving a garrison in Malta, went on to Egypt and reached Alexandria on July 1st, 1798. That city was captured on the following day, and the French army marched on Cairo, and defeated the Memluks under Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey at the Battle of the Pyramids on July 26th. Then Cairo surrendered: Murad retiring into Upper Egypt and Ibrahim to Belbeis on the road to Palestine, where they endeavoured to reorganize the Egyptian forces in order to make a fresh effort to drive out the French.

Shortly after Bonaparte had thus rapidly carried out the occupation of Egypt, the success was followed by a grave disaster, when the French fleet under Admiral Brueys was defeated and destroyed in Abukir Bay on August 1st by Nelson, who had followed the expedition and arrived on the coast of Egypt after the troops had been landed at Alexandria. Brueys had failed to carry out Bonaparte's instructions to remain at Alexandria, as he thought the anchorage at Abukir was better, and paid the penalty of this neglect by the loss of the fleet and of his own life, while the result was to place the French army in a dangerous position, as the communications with Europe were cut off, and the command of the sea passed definitely into the hands of the English. This was a great blow to Bonaparte, but he bore it with remarkable courage, and took vigorous steps for the complete subjugation of Egypt; Dessaix was sent with a strong force to pursue Murad and his Memluks up the Nile; Ibrahim was defeated at Salahieh and fled to Syria, while Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta, were fortified in order to protect the coast of Egypt from attack by sea.

While thus attending to military matters, Bonaparte also took measures for organizing the civil government, and, after an attempt at revolt in Cairo had been suppressed with great severity on October 21st, and the city made secure from attack both from within and without, he put the central administration on a satisfactory footing and arranged the taxation of the country. At the same time the party of savants, who had accompanied the expedition for archaeological and scientific exploration, commenced work with

great vigour, and collected a mass of useful and important information.

While thus engaged during the autumn and winter of 1798 in the settlement of affairs in Egypt, Bonaparte received news that Turkey had joined the alliance of England and Russia against France, and that two Turkish expeditions were in course of preparation for an attack upon Egypt, of which the one was being assembled in the Island of Rhodes for a descent on the coast, while the other had its headquarters at Damascus in Syria, and was intended to march through Palestine and across the desert separating the latter country from Egypt; the latter army was to have its base at Acre on the Palestine coast, the Governor of which, Ahmed Pasha, was a man of great strength of character, who was usually known by the soubriquet of El Jezzar, or the Butcher, on account of the cruelty with which he treated the people under his jurisdiction, and, in most accounts of the war, he is called Jezzar Pasha. He was joined at Acre by Ibrahim Bey, who, after his defeat at Salahieh, crossed the desert with 1,000 Memluks in order to assist the Turks in the invasion of Egypt.

As soon as he had heard of the Turkish plan of attack on Egypt Bonaparte at once decided that the best way to meet it was to take the initiative, and defeat the Turkish army coming from Syria in Palestine before it could cross the desert, then to return rapidly to Egypt, and be ready to oppose the landing of the second Turkish expedition which was in course of preparation at Rhodes. He also proposed to capture Acre, so that the Turks could not make use of it in their operations against Egypt, and also, because he wished to punish Ahmed Pasha, with whom he was angry for having assisted Ibrahim Bey when he was driven out of Egypt. In December, 1798, Bonaparte occupied Suez, and, while at that place, made the final arrangements for his campaign in Palestine, which I now propose to describe, basing the account principally on three sources of information which, although differing as regards certain details, give, when compared with one another, a clear view of the operations. These are: the despatches written by Bonaparte to the Executive Directory; the reports sent by General Berthier, who was Chief of Staff, to the Minister of War in Paris; and the letters from Captain Sir W. Sydney Smith, R.N., to the British Admiralty, which were published in the *London Gazette*. Of these, Bonaparte's despatches appear to contain what he wished to be believed rather

than what actually happened, while Berthier's reports give a much longer account of the facts, taken from the French point of view, and Smith's letters describe the same facts from the English standpoint. There is another source of information contained in the Memoirs of Bourrienne, who accompanied Bonaparte to Palestine in the capacity of secretary; but, as these Memoirs were compiled many years later, and after Bourrienne had fallen out with his master, they are incorrect in many particulars and cannot be regarded as authentic history.

At the beginning of 1799 the total French force in Egypt appears to have been about 29,000 men, out of which there had to be provided the garrisons for Cairo, Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, Suez and some places in the interior of the country, while a strong column under Dessaix was pursuing the Memluks into Upper Egypt, and another field force was operating in the Delta, so that the number which could be spared for the expedition to Palestine did not exceed 13,000, a small army considering the work in view. The organization of the force was as follows :—

The infantry were in four divisions, of which the first, commanded by General Kléber, under whom were Brigadiers-General Verdier and Junot, was composed of the 2nd Demi-Brigades of light infantry, with two battalions of the 25th and two of the 75th of the line; the second division under General Regnier, with whom was Brigadier Lagrange, consisted of the 9th and 85th Demi-Brigades of the line; the third division under General Bon, with Brigadiers Rampon and Vial, had one battalion of the 4th light infantry, and two battalions each of the 18th and 32nd of the line; the fourth division commanded by General Lannes, with Brigadiers Veaux and Robine, had one battalion of the 22nd light infantry, and two battalions each of the 13th and 69th of the line. The cavalry, 900 strong, under General Murat, was a mixed force, made up from a number of different regiments, while the artillery was commanded by General Dommartin, and the engineers by General Caffarelli. General Berthier was Chief of the Staff.

As regards the names of the generals there are two points worth notice; first, the number of them that afterwards became famous during the great European campaigns of Bonaparte; and, secondly, their youth as compared with the age of generals at the present day. Bonaparte and Lannes were thirty, while Murat and Junot were only twenty-eight; Berthier and Kléber were forty-six, the

same age as Wellington and Bonaparte in the year of the Battle of Waterloo, at the end of their military careers. The fact that Bonaparte's generals were, for the most part, young, had probably a great influence in his success, as, although a great general is born and cannot be made, it is more probable that a man will be an efficient commander if he begins at thirty instead of fifty, as the qualities required in a subordinate officer differ considerably from those desirable for a general. It is a difficult problem, but one that was better solved at the end of the eighteenth than at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The strength of the French expeditionary force is thus given by Berthier:—

Infantry,	Kléber's Division	2,349
„	Regnier's Division	2,160
„	Bon's Division	2,449
„	Lannes' Division	2,924
Cavalry		900
Artillery		1,385
Engineers		340
	Total ...	12,507

He does not give the numbers of the staff and administrative services. The guns taken with the column, including the light pieces attached to the cavalry and infantry, were: four 12-pounders, fifteen 8-pounders, four 4-pounders, eight 3-pounders, fifteen 6-inch howitzers and three 5-inch mortars. As it was not possible to bring heavy guns across the desert, Bonaparte decided to send some 24-pounders, for use against Acre, by sea from Alexandria to Haifa, notwithstanding the fact that the English had the command of the sea, but the attempt was a failure, as the ship carrying the guns was captured by the English squadron off Haifa. Some more 24-pounders were despatched later but these did not arrive until the siege of Acre had been some time in progress.

The transport column had 2,000 camels and 3,000 mules and donkeys; 2,000 camels to carry water for use of the troops when crossing the desert, 1,000 camels with fifteen days' provisions, and the mules and donkeys to carry the baggage.

As the primary objective of the expedition was Acre, Bonaparte decided to march by the northern road which passes near the coast

to El-Arish and Gaza, and thence by Jaffa to Haifa. The eastern frontier of Egypt was very different from what it is at the present time, since the Suez Canal has been cut across the Isthmus, and Lake Menzaleh extended considerably further to the coast, while, to the south, the desert reached to Salahiyeh, the last important station on the road from Cairo to Palestine. Fifty miles north-east of Salahiyeh, and thirty-five miles from the point on the coast where Port Said has been built, is the Oasis of Katieh, where there is a moderately good water supply from wells, and this was made the place of assembly. General Regnier, whose division was quartered at Belbeis and Salahiyeh, was ordered to advance to Katieh, which he occupied early in 1799, and built a fort to protect the walls. He was followed by Kléber, who brought his division in boats across Lake Menzaleh from Damietta, and by the rest of the force.

Sixty-five miles from Katieh, and on the road to Gaza, was the fort of El-Arish, occupied by 2,000 Turkish troops, and the first point where serious opposition was to be expected. The French advance commenced on February 7th, 1799, when General Lagrange, with three battalions and two light guns, started from Katieh and reached the vicinity of El-Arish on the following evening, driving back the Turkish outposts, who retreated to the fort. He was followed by Regnier with the rest of the division and the fort was invested, while a convoy, which was coming from Gaza with supplies for the garrison, was kept off and compelled to halt at some distance from the place. Nothing further could then be done until the main body of the French arrived.

Kléber, with his division, reinforced Regnier on February 13th, and, the next day, the camp of the Turkish convoy was attacked and captured, when a considerable quantity of provisions and other stores were taken, as well as many horses and camels. Lannes and Bon, with the artillery, came up on the 17th, and, on the same day, Bonaparte, who had started from Cairo on the 10th, joined the army, took personal command, and ordered an attack on the fort of El-Arish, the garrison of which surrendered on the 20th, when the Egyptians were sent as prisoners to Cairo, while some of the Arabs took service with the French. The following day the advance was continued, but, in different order, as Regnier, with his division, was left at El-Arish as rear guard, Kléber's division, with the cavalry under Murat, formed the advance guard, and was

ordered to occupy Khan Yunis, thirty-seven miles from El-Arish, by the evening of the 22nd. Here occurred one of those accidents which may happen in the best regulated operations, that might have had a serious result for the expedition.

The order for the occupation of Khan Yunis on the 22nd being quite clear, Bonaparte, with the headquarters staff and a small cavalry escort, left El-Arish on the 23rd, expecting to join Kléber in the evening. But when the staff approached the village, this was found to be still occupied by the Turks, and there was no sign of the French troops. Fortunately, the Turks, who thought that the French army had arrived, retired along the road towards Gaza, while Bonaparte and his escort withdrew rapidly in the opposite direction until he met the cavalry advance guard, which was behind him instead of in front of him. It then appeared that Kléber's Arab guide had misled him into the desert, where he wandered for two days, the troops suffering severely from want of water, while the divisions of Lannes and Bon were also led astray, though not for so long. It is interesting to think what would have happened if the Turks at Khan Yunis, instead of running away, had captured Bonaparte and the staff and conveyed them off as prisoners to the Pasha of Acre, who would probably have treated them with little consideration, and, at best, handed them over to the English.

On February 26th, the army assembled at Khan Yunis, and, after a short rest, marched to Gaza, which surrendered, the garrison retiring to Jaffa, and leaving great quantities of stores to the French, including 100,000 rations of biscuit and a large amount of powder and other ammunition. Bonaparte could then congratulate himself on having effected the crossing of the dreaded desert with little difficulty, and having secured a good base in Southern Palestine, while the provisions which had been captured relieved him of all anxiety as regards the feeding of the troops. The army was given two days' rest at Gaza, well earned after the march from Egypt, and, on February 28th, the advance was resumed, Kléber again commanding the vanguard. Esdud, the Ashdod of the Philistines, was reached on March 1st, and Ramleh on the following day, where more provisions were found, which had been abandoned by the enemy, who fell back upon the fortress of Jaffa, which prepared to make a serious resistance to the further progress of the French, as the fortifications were fairly strong, and there was a garrison of about 4,000 men, including Turks, Arabs, and Egyptians. Bonaparte on

the other hand was anxious to get possession of the place as soon as possible, as he hoped to be able to open communication by sea with Alexandria and Damietta, and gave orders for its investment, the divisions of Lannes and Bon being disposed round it on the east and south, while Kléber's division was camped on the Nahr el-Auja, five miles to the north, so as to cut off communication with Acre.

Trenches were opened on the night of March 5th, and four batteries were constructed to breach the fortifications, which opened fire on the following day and soon destroyed a sufficient length of the wall to justify an assault. This was made by the division of General Lannes, which fought its way into the town, and, after a severe struggle, overcame the garrison, the strength of which is given by Berthier as about 4,000 men. It is said that, after the capture of the place, a large number of prisoners were massacred by order of Bonaparte, but it is rather difficult to know what really happened. Berthier says that the greater part of the garrison were killed at the time of the assault, and that 300 Egyptians, who were taken prisoners, were sent back to their families in Egypt, while Bourrienne, on the other hand, says the 4,000 prisoners were shot in cold blood after the place was taken. Sir Sydney Smith speaks of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, but gives no details, and, as there appears to be no reliable account of the transaction, it must be left an unsettled question.

After a week's halt at Jaffa, the army resumed its march on March 14th, and camped at Miskeh, on the road to Acre, and the following day at Zeita, thirty miles from Jaffa, where an attempt was made by Abdallah Pasha—who had retreated from Gaza when the French advanced—to obstruct progress. Abdallah, who had 1,000 cavalry, and was supported by a force of Syrians from Nablus in the hill country, attacked Lannes' division but, after some desultory fighting, the enemy was driven into the hills, and, on the 16th, Kléber advanced to Haifa and put a garrison in the fort, which had been abandoned by the Turks, who had removed the guns and ammunition, but left a good store of biscuits and other provisions, a useful addition to the French commissariat. Some ships of war were seen anchored off Haifa, and these proved to be the English squadron commanded by Captain Sir W. Sydney Smith, R.N., composed of H.M.S. "Tiger," "Theseus," and "Alliance," which had intercepted the French vessel bringing siege guns from Alexandria, as has already been mentioned, and was now waiting to take part in

the defence of Acre, a defence in which Smith and his gallant companions took a most important part.

The road from Haifa to Acre, a distance of twelve miles, passes over a marshy plain through which the Kishon flows, and it was necessary to construct field bridges for the passage of the French army across this river, and also across a smaller stream, the Nahr Namein, which enters the sea a mile south of Acre. The Turkish outposts were driven in, and, on March 18th, the army camped on the hills to the east, and the place was completely surrounded. After a reconnaissance made by the chiefs of artillery and engineers the salient to be attacked was selected, and, on March 20th, the trenches of approach were opened, and the sites of the breaching batteries selected. A sortie made by the garrison to stop the progress of the siege works was repulsed, and, by the 28th, the batteries were completed and armed with the field artillery guns with which fire was opened and a breach made in the north-eastern salient. An assault was then ordered as it was thought that Acre could be taken as easily as Jaffa; but here there was a different kind of commander to deal with, and, after a gallant attempt to scale the fortifications, the French were driven off with considerable loss, including three staff officers who were killed. This was a great encouragement to Ahmed Pasha who was ably assisted in the improvement of the defences by Colonel Phelippeaux, a French royalist officer of engineers, and by the English squadron under Sir Sydney Smith who arrived soon after the commencement of the siege, when the crews of the British ships worked hard at mounting guns to counteract the fire of the French batteries.

On April 7th another sortie was made in which the English took part as well as the troops of the garrison, but the latter unfortunately were so noisy that the French had good notice of their approach and opened so heavy a fire that it was impossible to take the trenches, and the attempt was a failure, while Major Oldfield of the Royal Marines was killed. Respecting this gallant officer Berthier wrote: "The body of Major Thomas Oldfield was carried off by our grenadiers; they brought him to our headquarters when he was at the point of death, and soon after his arrival he was no more; his sword, to which he had done so much honour, was also honoured after his death and it remains in the hands of one of our grenadiers; he was buried among us, and has carried with him the esteem of the French army."

While the siege operations at Acre were thus in progress, Bonaparte had not forgotten the main object of his expedition to Palestine, namely, to intercept and defeat the Turkish army which was being assembled in Syria for the invasion of Egypt, and, shortly after his arrival at Acre, he sent Murat with a small force to seize the fortress of Safed, situated eight miles north-west of the Sea of Galilee, and commanding the road from Damascus which crosses the Jordan a little to the south of Lake Huleh. Here a garrison was placed on March 31st, and, on the same day, Junot occupied Nazareth in order to watch the road over the Jordan, south of the Sea of Galilee, while, on April 4th, General Vial was sent to capture and put a garrison in Tyre, twenty-six miles north of Acre, and on the coast road leading from Beirut to Acre.

These preparations were not made too soon, as, on April 6th, information was received from the commandant of Safed that a large force of Turks had crossed the Jordan by the road leading from Damascus to Safed, and Junot reported that another large Turkish force, advancing by the southern road, had passed the Jordan and occupied Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee, with an advanced guard at Lubieh on the road from Tiberias to Nazareth. Junot realized the importance of delaying the Turks, and, although he had only 300 infantry and 160 cavalry, moved out of the latter place and met a large body of Turks, reported to be 4,000 strong, near Lubieh. The French fought well but were outnumbered, and had to retreat to Kefr Kenna, four miles from Nazareth.

As soon as he heard of the advance of the Turks, Bonaparte decided to send the greater part of his army against them, leaving Regnier to watch Acre, and, on April 9th, Kléber started with his division and marched to the assistance of Junot, who had fallen back on Nazareth, where another attack was made on the Turks who retreated to Tiberias and Beisan. Meanwhile the northern Turkish army invested Safed, and Murat was sent to relieve that place, and then to join Kléber at Nazareth, then preparing to advance against the Turks who had taken up positions at Mount Tabor and at El-Fuleh on the Plain of Esdraelon, where there is now a station on the railway from Haifa to Damascus, while Bonaparte also started from Acre on the 15th, taking General Bon's division, all the cavalry and eight guns, marched to his assistance, and, on his arrival, found Kléber in action against a force of about 20,000 Turks, principally cavalry. Bonaparte formed his troops in

three squares about 4,000 yards apart, and advanced rapidly against the enemy, and the latter, after resisting for a time, gave way and fled to the Jordan pursued by the French cavalry who captured the Turkish camp. This action, known as the Battle of Mount Tabor, was admirably arranged and carried out, and it caused the complete defeat of the Turkish army of invasion. On the day after the battle Murat occupied Tiberias, where there was a quantity of provisions and other stores, and then Bonaparte returned to Acre with the greater part of the troops, while Kléber was left in charge of Galilee with his headquarters at Nazareth.

Shortly after his arrival at Acre Bonaparte received the satisfactory intelligence that three French frigates, having eluded the vigilance of the English cruisers, had arrived at Jaffa from Egypt, and had brought some siege guns, 24-pounders and 18-pounders, which had been sent to replace those captured by Sir Sydney Smith; orders were given for the guns to be sent to Tanturah, a small port on the coast fifteen miles south of Haifa, and thence they were forwarded by land to the camp at Acre, where they arrived on April 28th. Meanwhile, the siege works were vigorously pushed on, and a mine was driven under the wall, which was exploded on April 24th, when an attempt was made to scale the breach. But the garrison succeeded in driving the French back with considerable loss, when General Veaux of Lannes' division, and General Caffarelli, the Chief Engineer, were dangerously wounded, and the latter officer, who was a great loss, died of his wounds three days later. By a curious coincidence, Colonel Phelippeaux, the Chief Engineer of the garrison, died of fever on May 1st, to the great regret of Sir Sydney Smith, as he had conducted the works of defence with remarkable energy and skill, and his place was taken by Captain Douglas, who was given the local rank of colonel, so as to make him senior to the Turkish officers. He continued the work of improving the fortifications, and mounting guns landed from the ships, while other guns, such as the 68-pounder carronades from the "Tiger," were placed in light draft boats and moored in the harbour in suitable positions.

The French siege guns were mounted in the batteries by May 1st and, after a heavy bombardment, another assault was made, but again unsuccessfully, and a mine made by the French sappers was counter-mined and destroyed by the garrison before it could be exploded, when Bonaparte decided to wait a few days before

renewing the attack. During this delay, the hopes of the garrison were greatly raised by the arrival of a Turkish fleet, bringing the army that had been assembled at Rhodes for the invasion of Egypt, as Smith had sent peremptory orders to Hassan Bey, who commanded it, to come at once to Acre to assist in the defence. This was serious news for Bonaparte, who determined to take the place, if possible, before the Turkish reinforcements could land, and ordered an attack in force on the night of May 7th, when the divisions of Generals Lannes and Bon assaulted and succeeded in getting a footing in the north-east angle of the fortifications, and the struggle continued during the day of the 8th, when it required the most vigorous efforts on the part of the English and Turks to keep out the enemy, and it was only after a severe struggle that they were successful and compelled the French to retire from the breach with heavy loss. On this occasion General Rampon was killed, and General Lannes was severely wounded. Fortunately, Hassan Bey's troops had succeeded in landing and took a noble share in the fight, losing a great number of men, including 800 out of 1,000 Albanians. The following day little was done as both sides were exhausted.

This was the most serious attack that had been made, and Smith felt inclined to despair. In his despatch to the Admiralty, written on May 9th, he said: "Bonaparte will, no doubt, renew the attack, the breach being perfectly practicable for fifty men abreast. Indeed, the town is not, nor ever has been defensible according to the rules of art, but, according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended, not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Bonaparte means to march to further conquests. It is on the issues of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor, and with such a reinforcement for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople and even Vienna must feel the shock. Be assured, my Lord, the magnitude of our obligations does but increase the energy of our efforts in the attempt to discharge our duty, and, though we may, and probably shall, be overpowered, I can venture to say that the French army will be so much further weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear bought victory."

It is interesting to note that, at the very time when Sydney Smith feared that Acre would fall, Bonaparte was coming to the

conclusion that it was impossible to take it, but he ordered one more assault to be made on the night of May 9th, and General Bon led a large force to the breaches, but without success, as the French columns were driven off with great loss, Bon himself being dangerously wounded. This last attempt having failed, Bonaparte wrote a despatch to the Directory on May 10th, stating that the capture of Acre was not worth the loss it would entail, and that he decided to withdraw the French army to Egypt, in order to be ready to meet the invasion of that country which he anticipated. In this despatch he gave the casualties of the French in the Palestine campaign as 500 killed and 1,000 wounded, but it is probable that the real number was considerably larger, as Berthier says that there were 500 killed and wounded in the last assaults only.

On May 11th, Bonaparte sent a flag of truce into Acre with a letter to the Governor asking for an armistice to bury the dead, and proposing an exchange of prisoners, and another flag of truce was sent on the 13th. Berthier complains in his report to the Minister of War that the messenger was fired at, and that a sortie was made by the garrison, while Sir Sydney Smith says that the French continued the bombardment after they had sent a flag of truce, which he considered a flagrant breach of the laws of war, and he sent the messenger back to Bonaparte "with a message which made the army ashamed of being exposed to such a merited reproof." Berthier also reports the return of the messenger, who, he says: "brought a supposititious proclamation of the Porte, certified by the signature 'Sydney Smith.' This proclamation was read by the whole army, who returned no other answer to it, but the contempt with which a dastardly action inspire true honour." On the whole the flag of truce does not appear to have led to any result.

As soon as Bonaparte had decided to return to Egypt, orders were sent to General Junot at Nazareth to withdraw the garrisons from Safed and Tiberias, and, after destroying all stores which he could not carry away, to fall back on the Acre-Jaffa road, so as to be ready to join in the retreat, which was commenced on May 18th by the removal of the sick and wounded; the heavy guns were also removed, their place in the batteries being taken by field guns which were left as long as possible. The camp at Acre was evacuated on the night of May 20th and the move was carried out as silently as possible so as not to attract the notice of the garrison. The division of Lannes formed the advanced guard, and he was followed by those

of Bon and Regnier, while Kléber held the trenches until the rest of the army had got a good start, when he followed with his division, and destroyed the field bridges when he had crossed the Kishon. The retreat was so well carried out that the garrison of Acre did not realize that the French army had gone until the following day, when they were already past Mount Carmel, and continued to fire on the trenches during the night. As he considered it unnecessary to carry off the siege guns, Bonaparte ordered that these should be buried or thrown into the sea, and the carriages burnt. Twenty-three of these guns were recovered by the Turks and taken to Acre.

On May 22nd, the French army was assembled at Tantureh, and, after the sick and wounded had been embarked to go to Jaffa by sea, marched to Cesarea, thirty-five miles from Acre, where they halted for the night, and, on May 24th, they reached Jaffa, when a halt of three days was made to rest the troops and to destroy the fortifications. The vessels containing the wounded were ordered to proceed to Egypt, and were captured by Sir Sidney Smith's squadron, which had sailed from Acre as soon as it was known that the French had retreated. Smith states that the French vessels steered straight for the English ships, "in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity," and that the sick were very grateful for the kind manner in which they were treated. There is a story that Bonaparte ordered some of the French invalids to be poisoned at Jaffa, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks, but Smith, who arrived immediately after the departure of the French, does not allude to this, but says that, "seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected and shall be taken care of." The march was resumed on May 28th, the divisions of Lannes and Bon taking the central road, while Regnier led a column on the left flank through Ramleh; the cavalry protected the right flank, while Kléber commanded the rear guard, which marched a day later from Jaffa. Every village near the road was burnt and the harvest destroyed, so that, as Berthier says: "the immense plain presented but one blaze of fire." Gaza was reached on the 30th and El-Arish on June 1st, where a garrison was left, and then the desert was crossed, but under worse conditions than during the advance, as the troops suffered greatly from want of water before they arrived at the Oasis of Katieh, when the Palestine expedition practically ended and the army was dispersed, Kléber's division returning to Damietta, while Bonaparte and the greater part of the

force proceeded to Cairo, where they arrived on June 23rd. This was not too soon, as, shortly afterwards, he received news that a Turkish fleet had been sighted off the coast of Egypt, apparently with the intention of attacking Alexandria, and orders were immediately despatched for the concentration of the French army at Rhamanieh in order to resist a landing. This is not the place to describe at length the events that followed, and it is sufficient to say that the Turkish expeditionary force landed at Abukir Bay on July 14th, and was completely defeated by Bonaparte on the 25th, many thousands of the Turks being killed or drowned, while the loss of the French was comparatively small. This victory put an end, for the time being, to any attempt to turn the French out of Egypt, and Bonaparte was able to consolidate his position in the country.

He realized, however, that, so far as he was personally concerned, there was nothing to be gained by remaining longer in Egypt, and, a month after the defeat of the Turks at Abukir Bay, he decided to return to France. He embarked at Alexandria on August 23rd, taking with him Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and some others of his best officers, and, after an exciting cruise, during which he was nearly captured by the English cruisers, landed in France on October 8th, and arrived a week later in Paris, when, shortly afterwards, he helped to overthrow the existing government, and was appointed First Consul. Before leaving Egypt, he appointed General Kléber to the command of the army in that country, who considered that he had been abandoned by his friend, who had owed so much to Kléber's assistance in the past, and now left him in a difficult position while returning to France to seek fresh honours for himself.

In dealing with Bonaparte's expedition to Palestine, the question naturally presents itself: Was it a failure or a success? and, as regards this, different writers have arrived at different conclusions, some thinking that he carried out the object of his campaign, while others lay stress on the fact that he was forced to retreat and suffered a loss of prestige. A careful consideration of the circumstances seems to show that there is something to be said for both points of view, and that, while Bonaparte certainly cannot be said to have failed, yet he did not accomplish all that he had hoped. The objects of the expedition have already been referred to, but it may be as well to repeat them as given in General Berthier's report

to the Minister of War, in which he wrote: "Bonaparte concluded that if the Porte declared for our enemies, a combined operation would take place against Egypt: an attack on the side of Syria, and an attack by sea. He accordingly resolved to march into Syria, chastize El-Jezzar, destroy the preparations made for an expedition against Egypt, in case the Porte should connect itself with our enemies; restore to it the nomination of a Pasha of Syria, if it remained our friend; return into Egypt, and be at the combined operations by sea, which, from the season, probably would not take place before the end of June."

It is clear, therefore, that the main object of the expedition was to defeat the Turkish army assembling in Syria before it started across the desert to invade Egypt, and then to turn back and crush the second Turkish force which was expected to land in the Delta, as, in this way, the enemy would be disposed of piecemeal. So far as this object was concerned Bonaparte was completely successful, as he defeated the Turkish army in Syria at the Battle of Mount Tabor, and returned to Egypt in time to fall with his whole force on the second Turkish army, coming by sea, at the Battle of Abukir.

Bonaparte's second object was to capture Acre, and to punish Ahmed Bey el-Jezzar for assisting the Turks and for having received Ibrahim Bey and his Memluks, who had been driven out of Egypt by the French. As he did not succeed in getting possession of Acre this part of the expedition may be regarded as a failure, but it was a failure of minor importance, as it is difficult to see what use he could have made of the place if he had captured it. Having lost the command of the sea, he would have found it a hard task to hold the fortress, and, as it was a long way from Cairo, it would have been of little use in the operations for the defence of Egypt. Indeed, just as Sydney Smith came to the conclusion that Acre was not worth defending except on sentimental grounds, so Bonaparte might well have considered that it was not worth attacking for the sake of any advantage that its possession would give him. Having, however, set his heart on taking it, he did not like to be thwarted, and did not relax his efforts until forced to realize that the game was not worth the candle; indeed it might fairly be argued that he waited too long, and that he would have been wiser to retire before the arrival of the Turkish fleet with reinforcements on May 7th, 1799, and before he had wasted the lives of a large number of officers and

men in the fruitless attacks made during the last three days of the siege.

It is not impossible, on the other hand, that Sydney Smith made a somewhat similar mistake in landing the expeditionary force at Acre to assist in the defence, as, if the Turkish army had been sent on to Jaffa and disembarked there, they could have cut the French lines of communication and marched north against Bonaparte, who, even if he succeeded in capturing Acre, would have been placed in a difficult position, and had to fight his way back to Egypt, instead of being practically unmolested on the retreat. It is, however, easy to be wise after the event, and all that can be said for certain is that Bonaparte succeeded in the main object of his expedition, the defeat of the Turkish army in Syria, and failed in the secondary one, the capture of Acre.

It is interesting to consider what lessons may be learnt from the French expedition to Palestine which would be useful as regards the conduct of the present war. In the first place we see that Bonaparte, who, whatever his faults may have been, was a great general, realized that the best way to defend Egypt against an attack coming from the East was, not to wait until the enemy had completed his arrangements for crossing the desert, but to meet him in Palestine and defeat his army there. This he succeeded in doing, although circumstances were not at all favourable for his operations as, France having lost the command of the sea when Nelson destroyed the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile, he had to depend for the most part on the land communications with Egypt, and the transport of supplies and munitions of war was difficult. Matters are now very different, as England, the country which is defending Egypt, has the complete command of the sea, and can send troops and supplies by water to any place on the coast of the Mediterranean, while, on the contrary, all supplies for a Turkish army assembling in Syria have to be brought by land over a long line of communications.

As this was well known when Turkey joined the Central Powers of Europe against the Allies in the autumn of 1914, it is difficult to understand why immediate steps were not taken to occupy the seaports on the coasts of Palestine and Syria, as these would have served as bases for such military operations as were desirable to stop the German-Turkish preparations for the advance across the desert against Egypt. Jaffa and Haifa, which were at that time

unfortified, should have been seized by the English, and placed in a state of defence, and Beirut, Tripoli, and Latakia should have been taken by the French, when the Allies would have got command of the railways from Jaffa to Jerusalem, from Haifa to Damascus, and from Beirut to Damascus, while the construction of the new line which it is supposed has been, or is being, made to continue the Haifa railway to Ramleh and Gaza, would have been stopped without difficulty.

There can be little doubt that such an occupation of the seaports by the Allies would have been hailed with pleasure by a majority of the inhabitants of the country, who fear, but hate, both Turks and Germans, and it would have been a far more effective way of stopping an invasion of Egypt from Palestine, than sitting down in front of the long line of the Suez Canal, and waiting until an attack upon it was developed. We may feel pretty sure that this would have been the course of action which Bonaparte would have adopted if he were now in charge of the defence of Egypt, as he was well aware that attack is often the best means of defence, and never, if he could help it, allowed his adversary to get the initiative.

CHRISTMAS AT BETHLEHEM.

By the late Lord Kitchener.[1]

On Christmas Eve of 1875 we rode from Jerusalem to Bethlehem to be present at the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

The road, so well known to all travellers in the Holy Land, passes the Well of the Magi, where tradition relates that the three kings from the East again beheld the guiding star. A little farther on is a still more ancient site, the Tomb of Rachel, now an ordinary Mahommedan tomb without any appearance of remote antiquity; yet this spot has been venerated by Christians, Mahommedans, and Jews from the earliest times as the burial-place of the mother of Benjamin. It agrees so well with the Bible narrative of the death and burial of Rachel on the way to Bethlehem, that it seems hard to find objection to the genuineness of its position, and yet there are many difficulties to be reconciled before it can be accepted without any doubts.

On our arrival at Bethlehem we found the inhabitants returning from Beit Jala, where they had been to meet and bring the Latin Patriarch to their town. Any honoured person is thus met in Palestine by the inhabitants before arriving at the town, and conducted the rest of the way with great rejoicings, the mounted portion of the escort performing fantasia in front, galloping wildly about, shouting, and firing their rusty old flintlocks into the air. On returning from Beit Jala they had started on the Jerusalem road in order to meet the French Consul, who arrives in great state as the representative of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Bethlehemites are well-to-do people, earning a good deal from their speciality of carving religious subjects in mother-of-pearl which they sell to pilgrims and travellers; they are mostly Christians, and their women have a well-deserved reputation for

[1] [This article, together with another, was found among reports and other papers of the late Lord Kitchener, in his handwriting and over his signature. So far as is known it has never been printed or otherwise used, and, in fact, the MS. was not finally ready for the press. Some adjustments that were necessary in the way of punctuation, paragraphing, and the correction of oversights, have been made by Miss Estelle Blyth, the temporary Assistant Secretary.—Ed.]

good looks which is enhanced by their rather peculiar costume. It consists of a dress of red and blue woollen stuff, open at the throat, and with long hanging sleeves, a mantle of the same hangs down behind, and a long white veil, sometimes embroidered, and held up by a high cylindrical bonnet, forms their headdress; this resembles the ancient oriental headdress worn by female figures representing Syrian towns seen on coins. The lower part of the bonnet is ornamented sometimes by strings of coins closely packed together, and necklaces of silver coins are worn with full dress. A Bethlehem woman might almost start a money-changer's shop with the amount of coins she wears; some are old family heirlooms, and it is their great ambition to put on as many coins as possible. This desire is fraught with some danger, as several of these women were murdered for their ornaments in the short time we were at Jerusalem. Nothing is prettier than a crowd of these women in their long white veils, bright dresses, and sparkling jewellery. The men delight in very rich and full turbans of all colours, and very bright oriental dresses.

We went first to the Church of the Nativity, built by St. Helena over the Grotto mentioned by Justin Martyr in the second century as being then the venerated place of the birth of Christ. This Church has passed through all the subsequent troubles of the country undestroyed, and stands a magnificent example of the Christian zeal of the mother of the first Christian Emperor.

A small low door forces even Mahommedans to bow as they enter the church. The grandeur of the interior is now sadly marred by a modern wall built by the Greeks, cutting off the apse and transept from the nave and double aisle; four rows of eleven monolithic columns support the roof; the nave is much higher than the aisles. The clerestory windows are the only windows of the church, and around them the wall was formerly covered with mosaics representing the most important early Councils of the Church; large patches still remain, the rest is whitewashed. The roof is of wood, and was restored by Edward IV of England. Passing through the central door in the modern wall the great apse is seen, partially hidden by the gilded Greek screen which hides their altar; to right and left, at the ends of the transepts, are other apses. Thus the form of the Latin cross seems to have been given to one of the earliest purely Christian churches existing.

The Grotto is reached by marble stairs descending from the

right and left of the central apse; one flight belongs to the Latins, the other to the Greeks. Fortunately, the Greeks keep a different calendar, but when, as sometimes occurs, both Christmasses fall on the same day, a sanguinary fight takes place over the spot where the Prince of Peace was born. The Grotto is rich with hangings and marble, a silver star marks the exact spot of the birth of Christ, and a short distance off is the Manger; numbers of lamps are continually kept burning, some belonging to each sect.

Leading from the Grotto of the Nativity are a number of other grottos cut out in the rock, and marking different traditional sites. The most interesting of these is the cell of St. Jerome, where he lived and wrote his famous works. The cell is cut out of the rock on three sides, it is lighted by a small window on the northern side. Close by is the saint's tomb. The Latin chapel of St. Catherine is separated from the basilica by a wall; it is a poor narrow, vaulted, chamber, and is entered from the cloisters; it has also an entrance to the subterranean grottos. When we entered, the Patriarch was saying a mass on his arrival.

We returned to the entrance of the town and visited the Well of David. A Bethlehem girl drew water for us. The well is an ordinary rock-cut cistern, famous for the episode in the Bible which relates that when David was besieging the place he longed for some water from this well, which was procured for him by the three mighty men anxious to fulfil his slightest wish.

While at the well the noise of the firing of guns announced the approach of the French Consul. First came the Bethlehemites, who had gone out to meet him, on all sorts of animals, horses, mules, donkeys, shouting, and galloping their poor steeds about, then six kavasses in red and blue oriental uniform embroidered with gold, and carrying silver-headed sticks—they were well mounted; after them came the Consul in uniform surrounded by his staff, and then a motley crowd of all sorts who had gone out to meet him, or had followed from Jerusalem.

At 9.30 p.m. we went to the Latin chapel where there was already a crowd of natives. At 10 o'clock the service commenced; the Patriarch, in splendid vestments and with mitre and crozier, was seated on a throne to the left, while numerous priests went through the ritual of the Roman Church.

The crowd was by this time so dense that it was hard to keep one's place, and the noise of scuffling and fighting for places was

such that nothing could be heard of the service. Turkish soldiers with fixed bayonets were placed at intervals down the church, and one could not help remembering that a few years ago, on a similar occasion, a frightful amount of blood was shed in this place. Some ladies were very much disturbed by the crowd, and would have been seriously injured, if not trampled under foot, had we not come to their rescue and by a free use of our hunting-crops kept the crowd back. A measured tapping announced the approach of the French Consul, and the six kavasses appeared shortly, hitting the ground with their sticks to warn people to get out of the way. After a good deal of squeezing they managed to reach the chair prepared for the Consul; he was in uniform, wearing several orders, and was accompanied by his staff. The kavasses formed a ring round the Consul, and by a good deal of pushing we managed to get the ladies into this charmed circle. The atmosphere of the small vault without any ventilation was most oppressive, and the turmoil going on gave one no peace. I saw several men faint and be carried out.

At midnight the "Gloria in Excelsis" was very beautifully sung, a centre candle was lighted on the altar, and the wax image of a child was displayed. At 2 a.m. a procession was formed of all the priests bearing candles and, lastly, the Patriarch carrying the wax figure. Close behind him came the French Consul and his staff, carrying candles, and guarded by his kavasses. The procession wound its way through the cloisters into the great basilica, and down the steps into the Grotto, which was almost entirely filled by the priests. Here the Gospel was read, and the image was wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in the Manger. The procession then reformed and returned to the church, where, after some more ceremonies, the Patriarch was unrobed, and said Mass himself in ordinary priest's vestments.

We left while this was going on, as it was 4 a.m., and rode back to Jerusalem with the dawn, not sorry to be out of the stifling atmosphere and in the fresh morning air. That Christmas morning ride to Jerusalem with all its associations, and after the night we had gone through, is one of my cherished remembrances of the Holy Land.

After a short rest we were able to attend our own Church at Jerusalem, where the Bishop conducted the service.

H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut., R.E.*

LORD KITCHENER'S WORK IN PALESTINE.

By Estelle Blyth.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, p. 190.)

Lieut. Kitchener never mentions either the birds or the beasts of Palestine; it is a curious omission, for there are many varieties of both, though people often speak of it as a birdless land: those who have seen Dr. Selah Merrill's collection of Palestinian birds know better. Both birds and beasts must have been more numerous in those early and wilder days; even a limited span of memory records the capture near Jerusalem of a black panther; the fierce descent one snowy night of desperate jackals upon the hen-coops of a Latin monastery just outside the walls; the huge hyena that first stalked and then attacked passers-by near Bethany; the wild cat whose ferocity made it impossible to pass by the Tombs of the Judges; an undignified escape from a pursuing boar on the banks of the Jordan; a leopard that stalked us down Mount Tabor, almost to the tents; devastating incursions by locusts; and a plague of rats that swept bare the harvest-fields of the fruitful Plain of Sharon. There are memories, too, of the birds near the Jordan, of brilliant blue jays and crested hoopooes on the way to Hebron, of armies of storks sweeping over the land towards Egypt, and, once, of a wonderful flight of flamingoes passing low over Jericho like a rosy cloud at sunset. Whatever Kitchener saw or heard of these he never alludes to them. The animals he speaks of are those of his own party, which are his charge and his responsibility; for mishaps to these he is full of sympathy. "One of my horses had a bad accident with Corporal Brophy; it seems he ran away on the French road and tumbled over one of the parapets, rolling down the hill some forty feet. The horse is dreadfully cut about, and will not be able to move for some time. It is a wonder the corporal

was not killed" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 163). "Our horses were rather done up by their hard work" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 14). "We suffered considerably from the heat. For over ten years so hot a day has not been known in the country. At midday I got a slight sunstroke. . . . Everyone was much exhausted, and my dogs nearly died, though they were carried all the way" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 11). "Pushing on for Deir Aban I soon caught Corporal Sutherland who had been revising in another direction; his horse was evidently very ill, and as Corporal Sutherland had a very bad foot I had to lead it all the way, about six miles, to Deir Aban. We got in some time after dark; the horse was very bad on the road, and though everything was done he died a quarter of an hour after getting into camp. It was sad he could not last another day, as that would have finished his work" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 66).

The little incident of having his dogs carried all the way to save them in the heat is interesting, because it shows the hold he must have had over his Arab servants. Even now, forty years later, they are terribly callous where animals are concerned, especially dogs which have no commercial or labouring value; we may be quite sure that the Turkish attacks upon Egypt, by way of the desert, entail the utmost of suffering upon the animals that have the misfortune to be attached to a Turkish army manipulated by Germans. It is, indeed, a testimony to his complete ascendancy over the people of the land; and with it in our minds we turn to a very clearly-defined aspect of Lieut. Kitchener's work in Palestine—his dealings with the natives. His management of them was an art. He was often very stern and sharp; underhand dealing or trickery of any kind met with swift and uncompromising punishment; excuses were not admitted in the face of facts. He held that as Englishmen he and his party were entitled to absolute honour and respect from everybody, no matter what their rank; he knew exactly how to command that respect, and to punish any lack of it. He was always very just and courteous, and he could be very patient with the people, and these are qualities which Easterns appreciate intensely.

We have seen how he regarded "the murderous and unprovoked attack" upon the Survey party at Safed, and the determination of Lieut. Conder and himself not to resume work until a "very severe punishment" had been meted out to the offenders. The punishment was quite severe enough, and when Lieut. Kitchener revisited the offending town his reception was a very different one. "Safed,

April 11th, 1877. You will be glad to hear that we have made a most successful entry into Safed. The Governor, Kadi, and H.B.M. Consular Agent, with twenty-two followers, came out about an hour and a half on the road to meet me. We rode into the town in quite a triumphal procession. I at once went to the Serail and was saluted by the guard. After coffee with the Governor, I pitched camp, and then the Governor came and called. After him the British Agent, and then the Kadi, with all the members of the Mejlis. Nothing could be more civil and obliging than everybody was. To-day I have had the Governor, the British Consul, and our old enemy, 'Aly Agha Khan, the cause of the row; the latter expressed deep sorrow for what he had done, as well he may, as I hear he and the Mogrebbins are all but ruined" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 114). "I remained six days, and was much annoyed by the continual visitors I had to receive. The most interesting of these was 'Aly Agha, the cause of our former unpleasantness. Now he came as a ruined, humble man, after undergoing his term of imprisonment, to beg for forgiveness. I was glad to be able to remit a small portion of the fine, some £60, that had not been paid, on account of their good behaviour on this occasion" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 167).

Without a doubt Safed had learnt its lesson.

"Our next camp was at Meiron, where we were received very cordially, owing to the Governor of the district, who accompanied us thus far, informing the villagers that if we were not well treated in everything, he would come next day and burn the village down" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 167). "At Acre I saw the Pasha and settled some little things" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 164). "Our camp (at Tiberias) was pitched along the shores of the sea, and as the Governor had already received a reprimand from the Pasha of Acre for not answering a letter of mine, we were well received by the officials" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 164). These two incidents probably explain Lieut. Kitchener's brief comment: "I find the authorities in the country most active and obliging in helping the work as far as they can" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 116). At Hebron, later in this year, he "attached two soldiers to the expedition. The acting kaimacam replied to my request for the soldiers that two were quite insufficient. However, on my asking for his reply in writing to submit to the Pasha, the soldiers were immediately forthcoming" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 11).

Turkish officials are almost invariably courteous though frequently inefficient, but there are lawless souls everywhere, especially just out

of reach of the official hand, which can be heavy; with such unruly persons Lieut. Kitchener took sharp and prompt measures.

"To the west of the castle (Kulāt ed-Dubbah) is the village of Shakra, where I obtained a copy of an inscription. The sheikh of the village was extremely rude, and threw stones against the inscription when I attempted to copy it. I therefore left without doing so, and reported the matter to the Governor, who immediately put the sheikh in prison. The next time I went to the village there was no opposition to my copying the inscription, I therefore had the sheikh set at liberty" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 169). "At Dura some boys threw stones at Corporal Sutherland, so I had them publicly flogged" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 14). "Dishonest guides were dismissed, and as these people are peculiarly susceptible of sarcasm, the offenders were not happy when they were laughed out of camp for not knowing their own country as well as we knew it" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 164).

His dealings with the people were by no means confined to the medium of whips and scorpions, which some Europeans consider the only way of making themselves felt by Easterns. He was full of sympathy with their conditions of life, and the hardship of military service, compulsory and unpaid, struck him forcibly; if it was bad in 1877, what has it not been since 1908, when, under the new Turkish Constitution, Christians also became liable to it. "The people complain of being short-handed owing to the large numbers that have been taken away for military service. The second ban, and some of the third ban of redifs, have been called out, and the people fear lest the Muharfez or Landwehr may be required. Old men and women have to take their places in the fields, and when the harvest time comes it will be very difficult to gather in the crops" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 119). "Tubās is a large village of about 1,500 inhabitants, situated in a most fertile country. By paying £100 in gold to the Pasha of Nablus, the people have escaped the conscription up to now, but I expect their term is nearly out, and unless they pay another heavy bribe, they will soon be called upon to make up for the time they have been spared" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 62). "The village (of Teiasir) is deserted, owing to the heavy demands for taxes and conscription. Half a dozen very unpleasing-looking men rushed out of a cave when they heard us, evidently meaning mischief; but on seeing that we were three, and well armed, they skulked off amongst the bushes. Poor creatures! they looked pinched with hunger, and were evidently very nearly driven to

desperation" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 63). "On the 3rd of May I moved camp to Dibl, a Christian village. . . . The inhabitants of Dibl were packing their few portable articles, and preparing for flight to Tyre, when we arrived. Our greeting was most enthusiastic, and they at once determined not to desert their village and crops, and to remain under our protection. . . . It soon spread through the neighbouring Christian villages that we had arrived, and a deputation of the priests came to me for advice. I recommended them to remain quietly at their villages, and to warn their people not to get into dispute with the Moslems. They were very anxious to buy arms and defend themselves, but that course must have led to what they most dreaded. I am glad to say that our influence in the country at this crisis caused these poor Christians to remain in their villages, which, if they had deserted, would have been seized by the Moslems, and would undoubtedly have led to a grave disturbance" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 169).

"Every evening after sunset a bell was beaten in the village (Dibl), and all the male population went to the poor chapel, where there was a short service; after this they came and sang and danced in front of our tents, sometimes for hours together. One evening about eighty Bedouin Arabs with their wives and families arrived. Their chief's son had been ill, and they had taken him three days' journey to the tomb of the famous prophet Joshua; this was supposed to have cured him, and they were now returning joyful after their pilgrimage. I had a goat killed in their honour, which made us the best of friends, and they kept up dancing and singing round fires in front of our tents all night. The men went through the usual war dance, imitating the attack and defeat of an enemy, to the accompaniment of clapping hands; but what was more curious was later in the evening, when two of the prettiest women were called out by their husbands, and went through a peculiar and very graceful dance with swords; they were unveiled, and looked quite handsome by the fire-light. Having rewarded them with lumps of sugar, I left them singing songs in our honour. Next day they were all gone, having left pressing invitations for us to visit them. Two days later the chief came to thank me for the medicine I had given his boy" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 170).

Just before going to Dibl, Lieut. Kitchener "paid a visit to the tents of Fendy el-Feis, the chief of the Beni Sakr. . . . The sheikh was very civil, and I spent two hours in his tent; he showed me a coat of mail and a Damascus sword he was very proud of" (*Q.S.*,

1877, p. 164). The following incident is given in his last report: "I rode to Amwâs to see the church. I entered the mosque and measured it up. On coming out I found a throng of people, who said it was a most sacred place, being the tomb of Sheikh Obeid. I apologised for going in with my shoes on. The people were extremely civil and obliging, and though I had a Turkish soldier with me, they expressed their longing that England would take the country and give them the benefits of a just government. Nothing I could say would induce them to believe that England had no intention of doing anything of the sort" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 66).

The Amwâs story is just another little instance of the courtesy that many writers have denied to Lord Kitchener; though in 1885 General Gordon noted in his Journal: "Not one civil word from any official personage except Kitchener." Had he lacked it he could not have made such an impression on the people, for, like all Easterns, they are acute and unsparing critics of manners. It was a Syrian Moslem of good birth who passed this sweeping judgment upon an English visitor, the Governor of one of our colonies: "*This* man is not a gentleman—he never once said 'Thank you'!"

These things that Lieut. Kitchener noted down are as true to-day as they were in 1877. The Moslems have all the assurance of the ruling class, the Christians are just as easily frightened, especially I think in Syria, where to utter the word "Massacres!" has the same effect as throwing a stone amongst roosting birds. It seems very poor spirited, but then we have not lived under Turkish rule for generations, nor grown up to a heritage of horrors that the West, indeed, was ignorant of until Germany entered Belgium. But some of us have seen Armenians who have escaped after seeing their kinsfolk suffer unspeakable things; and it was only in 1909, after Adana, that dreadful Armenian bodies were washed up on the shores of Cyprus. Here are two little flashes of light on Turkish methods of government:—

"The Government are on good terms with the Beni Sakr, as Fendy el-Feis can muster 4,500 spears, which renders him an undesirable enemy. The Arabs show no great patriotism for their co-religionists at war; they hate the Turk, and do not care much which way the (Russo-Turkish) war goes. . . . The sheikhs of the Adouan have been taken prisoners by the Pasha of Nablus. . . . As I heard the story, it seems that the Pasha of Nablus sent to the Adouan to come and help him to drive out the Beni Sakr, with

whom the Adouan have a feud. The sheikhs came to consult with the Pasha on how they should attack the Beni Sakr, when they found themselves surrounded by soldiers, cut off from their horses, and taken prisoners. I am afraid this will have a bad effect on the tribe, which has always had a good name from travellers before" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 164). "At the wells near El Burg some fellahin were watering their flocks of goats. Seeing a mounted party arriving from the Bedouin country, they raised a shout of 'Bedouins!' Away went the goats at a gallop up the hills. This we were used to, and rode on trying to re-assure them by shouting 'Soldiers!' when about fifteen men ran together behind some stone walls, and after gesticulating frantically, opened fire upon us. The balls whistled by and threw up the dust under our horses' feet, so we pulled up, and after some difficulty succeeded in making them understand who we were" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 14).

Lieut. Kitchener seldom touches on politics in his reports. When the Russo-Turkish War breaks out he merely hopes that "this sad news will not interfere with the successful completion of the survey of Galilee." The Turco-Serbian War had been going on already for more than a year, but "the country seems to be very quiet and orderly . . . . and the calling out of the redifs has drained the country of young men." The excitement of war-fever, however, soon spreads when once the tales of wonderful "victories" begin to come in; and at the end of March the Druses were up, "cutting people's throats on the way to Damascus," while "in the south, near Hebron, the Arab tribes Tarabin and Teyyaha have had a fight." Kitchener puts his finger on the only remedy possible under Turkish rule: "I wish you could get the matter of the consuls in North Palestine looked into by the Foreign Office, as it is really wanted. An Englishman at Haifa or Akka, and an advance of some of the consular agents, such as at Safed, who have neither seals of office nor any status in the country, though French, Austrians, and others have, is much wanted" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 115). "It would be an immense advantage to this part of the country if the British Consulate at Haifa were re-established. The influence of an Englishman at this port would be of the greatest benefit to all the Christians of the district, which contains a thriving English mission and schools at Nazareth, many English subjects among the Jews of Tiberias and Safed, besides a considerable amount of English shipping trade from Akka" (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 120). It is

interesting to find him insisting, even in those remote days, on the importance of Haifa.

It is not commonly known that Lieut. Kitchener had a good share in the final unmasking of that remarkable system of frauds known as the Schapira Forgeries. The whole story of these (it is a long one) can be read in the *Quarterly Statements* for 1874 and 1878; it is sufficient to say here that in 1874 "the German Government, buying the whole of the first collection, gave a stimulus to the production of a second, which has been proceeding rapidly" (*Q.S.*, 1874, p. 118). The German consul at Jerusalem, Freiherr von Munchausen (delightfully named), wrote to Mr. Schapira to express his "humble opinion" that it was impossible for the Imperial Prussian Government to have been tricked—or, incidentally, himself either. M. Clermont-Ganneau (to name but one savant) thought differently, and Major (Sir Charles) Wilson came to the charitable conclusion that Munchausen had been "deceived by the Bedouin." The final touch, however, seems to have been given by Lieut. Kitchener, and M. Clermont-Ganneau gives him ample recognition for it. "Il ne manquait plus, pour achever de convaincre les plus incrédules, que l'aveu même du mystificateur; cet aveu nous l'avons aujourd'hui, grâce au Lieutenant Kitchener, et celui qui le fait c'est Selim—et de quatre!" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 100). What M. Clermont-Ganneau called "la piquante découverte de M. Kitchener" was also related in the *Athenaeum*:—"The latest event in the history of the 'Moabite' pottery is the arrival in England of two idols recently brought home by Lieut. Kitchener. These were procured in Jerusalem, and their manufacture has been traced by Lieut. Kitchener to the renowned Selim el-Kari. He has also ascertained that similar pottery may be obtained at a low price from the same source." Dr. Neubauer, writing from the Bodleian Library, adds his opinion that "the forgery is evident, and is confirmed now by the discovery of Lieut. Kitchener" (*Q.S.*, 1878, pp. 94 and 102).

The Survey of Western Palestine was finished by the 17th November, 1877—three years almost to the day after Lieut. Kitchener joined the Expedition. His own brief report on the completion of the work gives us some idea of what had been achieved (*Q.S.*, 1878, pp. 174 *seq.*):—

"It is with great regret that I leave the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund after a period of four years' work. I beg to

tender . . . my best thanks for the universally kind and indulgent way in which I have been treated, particularly during the time I was in command of the Survey of Palestine in that country. During that very critical period when Turkey was at war, the confidence placed in me by the Committee enabled me to carry out the Survey in my own way, when, had it been necessary to apply home for detailed directions, I should very probably not have succeeded in the enterprise.

"I strongly recommend to the Committee to adopt the same course with any brother officer who may be sent out in a similar position, and I feel sure that the Committee will not find their confidence misplaced in any officers of the corps of Royal Engineers who may hereafter carry on their work.

"In handing over to the Committee the completed Survey of Western Palestine, I beg leave to state what they have now in hand:—

"1st.—A completed survey, 1-inch scale, of rather more than 6,000 square miles, prepared for publication with hill-shading by the Ordnance Survey department.

"2nd.—Twenty-six volumes of Memoirs, viz., twenty by Lieut. Conder and six by myself, comprising the notes made by the Survey party while at work.

"3rd.—A reduced map prepared by myself in accordance with your instructions for the engraver, with corrected photographs to enable the printer to proceed.

"4th.—A number of photographs taken by me.

"5th.—A number of special plans drawn by Lieut. Conder and myself. A few of these are not fair drawn, but all are in such a state that they can be rapidly finished without further instruction.

"With regard to publishing the reduced map, I have asked for and received black impressions of the hills, from which the engraver can work, and I shall be glad to correct the proofs.

"With regard to the publication of the Memoirs, a considerable number of plans and sketches, in addition to those now in your hands, will probably have to be drawn from Lieut. Conder's and my own note-books. . . . . .

"I cannot conclude without mentioning the excellent services of Sergt. Armstrong and Corpl. Brophy, who have served the Committee longer than any other non-commissioned officers.

"Sergt. Malings and Corpl. Sutherland are also deserving of great credit for the way they performed their work under me.

"I shall at all times be ready to serve the Committee to the best of my ability, and beg again to thank them for their many kindnesses.

"H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut., R.E.*"

We may note in passing the ample tribute he pays to his fellow-workers, for it has been often said that he was wont to assume all the credit to himself. In his last but one report he writes: "our principal discovery was the ruins of Ziklag, which still bears the name of Khurbet Zuheilkah. Lieut. Conder first heard the name, and suggested the identification" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 12). I must own that I looked carefully for proofs of such selfishness, but certainly in his letters and reports from Palestine there is no trace of this piratical tendency. What he does omit is all mention of the difficulties that had been met and overcome. He suffered often from fever, once he had a sunstroke, and he bore alone the full responsibility of the work and the safety of the party during a period of acute political strain when, as he says himself, Palestine was in "a more dangerous state than it has been at any time this year. I attribute it to the elation felt by Mohammedans at having been able to beat so large a Christian power as Russia" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 15). But though Lieut. Kitchener might ignore everything but the work, the Committee at home were very well aware of his value, and at the Annual General Meeting of 1878 a striking tribute was paid to him.

"It is due to this officer to state that his work, although it is in no respect inferior to that of his predecessor in command, was accomplished under the most urgent necessity for dispatch. For a large part of the eight months during which he was in the country he and his men worked without intermission in order to get the work completed while the country, then threatened with disturbances, was still tranquil. No serious hindrance was met with, nor was there any opposition from the natives, except at Nablus, where Lieut. Kitchener was attacked and stoned in the streets, and where he was prevented from executing the proposed repairs of Jacob's Well. The Committee desire to express their sense not only of the energy and ability, but also of the tact shown by this officer in the conduct of his Expedition, and of the careful

economy with which he kept his expenses below the estimate" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 109). Even more emphatic was the tribute of Major (Sir Charles) Wilson on another occasion, when he said that "Lieut. Kitchener had omitted to mention, through modesty, the difficulties he had to surmount owing to the country being at war. From private information he had received from the consuls in Palestine he could assure the Meeting that the tact and energy displayed by Lieut. Kitchener in protecting the Christian population had greatly tended to the preservation of peace in that country" (*Q.S.*, 1878, p. 174).

With the completion of the Survey of Western Palestine closed a very definite period of Lord Kitchener's life. The three years in the Holy Land left an indelible impression upon him; they had given him his first real opportunity of self-expression, and they had sown in him that love and intimate understanding of the East by which his future life was guided, and to a large extent determined. We know that with him when a thing was past, it was past, but he kept his interest in Palestine and (the two are inseparable) his belief in "the bright future" that seemed to him "to be about to dawn on that land." No doubt there are some who will scoff at a future that has not yet dawned, forty years later; yet even a century is a very small thing in the life of nations and lands. Not one of us who really knows and cares for that most wonderful land can fail to share the belief in her future that Lieut. Kitchener professed.

REVIEW.

Recent Explorations in Palestine and the Discovery of the "Lost Oasis" of the Sinaitic Peninsula. By Prof. Camden M. Cobern, D.D., Litt.D., Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

This little book gives a very pleasant account of recent explorations in the Holy Land, written in an easy and popular manner which should attract many to a closer study of this fascinating subject. Prof. Cobern is plainly an enthusiast on his subject; he has also explored in Palestine and in Egypt, and has found the romance of it grow upon him both in success and in disappointment. He writes: "To be awakened early in the morning by the monotonous chant of the native diggers; to go to work oneself after a quick breakfast and to keep at it until after dark . . . to dig for days, perhaps for weeks, without finding any specimen worth carrying away . . . to spend evening after evening making the entries of the day's 'finds'—all this does not seem to the ordinary observer particularly romantic." But "when one glad day the lucky pick . . . discloses" some treasure of great antiquity, "this . . . most surely brings the exhilaration of romance into the dull commonplace round of ordinary existence" (pp. 18–21). This eager enthusiasm speaks throughout the book, and adds considerably to its charm.

We note that Prof. Cobern again challenges Mr. Lawrence on the subject of Kadesh-Barnea. (See *Q.S.*, April, 1916, pp. 97–100.) The discussion is far beyond the scope of this brief review, but we must say in passing that Prof. Cobern's arguments will strike the average reader as naive rather than convincing. To "enjoy using a rather tropical and oriental rhetoric," whether it be "merely the national *Koinē*" or not—to lose "the reserve of the geographer" in "the passionate ardor of Bible lovers" (p. 7), can neither establish nor overthrow a point under controversy, but it may engender in the reader a certain caution in accepting statements so represented. Dr. Trumbull wrote his impressions of the Oasis of 'Ain-Kedeis at home, "from hurried notes made on the spot" (*Kadesh-Barnea*, p. 274, note). It seems unlikely that there should have been so little change in the Oasis between the visits of the Israelites and of

Dr. Trumbull (*Recent Explorations*, p. 7), and so great a change between the latter occasion and Mr. Lawrence's visit in 1914, when photographs were taken which well support his views.

The illustrations are many and well chosen, and are a real embellishment to the book. There are some errors and omissions which a more careful reading of proofs might possibly have prevented. In the accounts of individual explorations no mention is made of Van de Velde's excellent map and memoirs (p. 33); and the excavations of Prof. Flinders Petrie and Dr. Bliss (pp. 41–52), of Prof. Macalister at Gezer (pp. 82–97), of Dr. Duncan (not Donald) Mackenzie at 'Ain Shems (pp. 97–104), are all described without any reference to the fact that they were carried out for and by the Palestine Exploration Fund, which also subsequently published the full record of each work. These omissions are serious in that they lessen the value of the book as a record of Exploration in Palestine. There are also various slight errors, such as the omission of a line, or lines, on p. 33, which annuls the sense, the first illustration being printed upside down, "reity" instead of "deity" on p. 57, etc. We do not mention this in any spirit of carping criticism, but in a record of scientific exploration even the slightest oversight is of moment. If this little book, which has already reached its third edition, should run into a fourth, we think that Prof. Cobern will enhance its usefulness by correcting these points.

E. M. E. B.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The news of the internal conditions in Palestine and Syria continues to be most distressing, and a fund has been opened in order to alleviate, in some measure, the misery and want. The appeal is printed in a following paragraph. Meanwhile we read in *The Near East*, of March 9th, of the further accumulation of misfortunes, due partly to the strained relations between America and Germany, which had delayed the progress of the American relief ship "Caesar," and partly owing to bad weather, which had caused a quantity of flour and clothing in the ship to be damaged by seawater. Moreover, *El Kiblah*, the Mecca official paper, says that: "wood, which before the winter was obtained with great difficulty in Syria at £T 2 a cantar (about 280 lbs.), is now as scarce as gold. The women, children, and old men left in the homes are, in consequence, suffering intensely from the cold; while the Turks have denuded Syria, the Lebanon and Anatolia of all traces of wood; and the town of Killis, near Aleppo, which used to be celebrated for its forests of olive trees, is now as bare as a desert—all because of the Government's requirements for the railways, which are deprived of European coal! Even fruit trees are paying this toll to the extent of 10 per cent. . . ."

The appeal to which we have referred runs as follows:—

From the Times, 17th February, 1917.

"Famine in the Holy Land.

"Sir,—The latest news clearly reveals the extremely serious conditions in Syria and Palestine. Many thousands of the inhabitants are starving, and, in one district alone, a careful estimate

made on the spot puts the deaths from this cause at fully 80,000. Many villages have lost half their population. Cholera, typhus, and other diseases are rampant. Children are being sold in the streets for a shilling or two. An eye-witness says:—'We passed women and children lying by the roadside with closed eyes and ghastly pale faces. It was a common thing to find people searching the garbage heaps for orange peel, old bones, and other refuse, and eating them greedily when found. . . . In three different places which we visited were camps of women and children, where any man could go in and select a child or a woman and take them with him, dragging them along by the hair.'—(*The Times*, September 15 and 27, 1916.)

"This widespread suffering is caused by a deliberate policy of starvation. 'It *is* clear,' said Lord Grey on October 28, 'that there has gone on in Turkey, on a scale unprecedented and with horrors unequalled before, an attempt to exterminate the Christian population.' Massacre by the sword is terrible enough; massacre by famine is tenfold worse.

"At the moment we seem powerless to meet this appalling situation. If, however, the success of the Allied operations permits, it may be possible to bring relief to these sufferers even before the close of the war. In any case the needed supplies of food, medicine and clothing should be poured in as soon as ever this becomes possible. They can now be bought and stored in Egypt, whence they can be conveyed in a few hours to the ports of entry for the Holy Land when opportunity offers. A small beginning has been made, but at least £50,000 should be forthcoming if anything like an adequate supply is to be ready.

"No country on the face of the earth should make a stronger appeal to people of all classes in the British Isles than that in which our Lord lived, and to which we owed the Scriptures and our whole religious inspiration. Now is the time to help. It will be of little avail to collect this sum after the Holy Land is open to us.

"The distribution of the fund will be in the hands of those who know the people, and have lived amongst them. Though the policy of starvation is mainly directed against the Christian population, help will be given to all in need, irrespective of creed or race. Pains will be taken not to pauperise, but to re-establish the people in their homes and on their farms.

"We appeal with confidence to your readers to help in trying to meet the needs of these innocent sufferers in Palestine and Syria. An office has been opened at the Church House, Dean's-yard, Westminster, S.W., and all cheques should be sent there, addressed to the Hon. Secretary, 'Syria and Palestine Relief Fund,' and crossed Williams Deacon's Bank (Limited).

"We are, Sir, yours very truly,

"A. F. LONDON.

RENNIE MACINNES (Bishop in Jerusalem).

JOHN BROWN (Moderator of the Church of Scotland).

GEORGE ADAM SMITH (Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland).

HENRY MACMAHON (Chairman of the London Committee.)

J. F. W. DEACON (Hon Treasurer)."

The future of Palestine naturally takes a prominent place in discussions and speculations regarding the future. The question may be approached and handled from several different points of view, for nowhere else in the East does one encounter so many confusing claims and complex interests, religious and sentimental, political, industrial and economic. For the general aspect of the problem we may refer readers to the article in this issue on "The Future of Palestine" (below, p. 81). We must also remind readers of the statement made in the *Q.S.*, July, last year (p. 109 *seq.*). It is not the intention of the *Q.S.* to embark upon any discussion of the various suggestions; on the other hand, the work of the Fund has been now, for many years, to illuminate the conditions of Palestine in their widest extent, during ancient, medieval and modern times. The picture we are gradually gaining of Palestine as a whole, of the trend of its history, of the unchangeable geographical and other factors—this picture, imperfect though it may still be, is of primary importance for any estimate of the future of Palestine. There is a certain uniformity about Palestine—a certain dependence upon conditions, some unalterable, others barely recognised—and it would be folly to expect the future of the land to proceed along lines contrary to the nature of the land, and its psychological and other conditions.

We have to regret the death, in his eightieth year, of the Rev. Arthur Carr, a member of the General and Executive Committees. Mr. Carr, who was a cousin of Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, made a somewhat extended campaign in Palestine about thirty years ago. He edited several commentaries on the Greek of the New Testament, and amid a busy life found time to contribute an interesting note on "Sacrificial Cakes" to the *Q.S.*, April, 1908, p. 168.

The present issue contains another paper by the late Lord Kitchener. It is a vivid account of a ride from Gaza to Jerusalem, with a description of the Greek Holy Fire, and is an excellent specimen of his style, observation and resourcefulness. We hope to print in the next issue a paper by our late Chairman, Colonel Sir Charles Watson, on the early churches of Jerusalem. Although incomplete, the general value of his notes made it desirable not to withhold them, and they will be printed as they left his hands.

Mr. Crace, the Hon. Secretary, has presented to the Committee a charming drawing by the late R. Phené Spiers of the entrance gateway to the Haram enclosure, bequeathed to him by the artist. The drawing, which is dated 1867, is especially interesting because a portion of the building represented has now been destroyed. It is extremely accurate, as might be expected, Mr. Spiers having been for many years the instructor of architectural drawing at the Royal Academy.

At a meeting of the "Archaeological Institute of America," August, 1915, Prof. Edward A. Wicher, of the San Francisco Theological Seminary, read a paper entitled: "A New Argument for Locating Capernaum at Khan Minyeh." From an abstract in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XX, i, 90, we quote the following:— "The key to the solution is to be found in an ancient Roman aqueduct running northwards from Khan Minyeh, and in the spring with which it is connected. The aqueduct, still in use in 1601, brought the water to Capernaum and the Plain of Gennesaret beyond. This plain is described by Josephus, *Wars*, III, x, 8, who tells us that it was watered from a most fertile fountain called Capernaum. It is natural to infer that the town of Capernaum

which was near the Plain of Gennesaret, grew up not far from the spring. Khan Minyeh is close to the plain. Tell Hum is not. There are numerous secondary reasons for regarding Khan Minyeh as Capernaum, one being that the ruins on the site of Tell el-Oreimeh are those of an important place, and are more extensive than those of Tell-Hum. Many passages of the Gospels bring Capernaum into close association with mountains, and Christ's reference to her being 'exalted unto heaven,' points, in all probability, to a conspicuous elevation. Now, Tell el-Oreimeh rises some 330 feet above the level of the Sea of Galilee, and was crowned with buildings, which would give it something of the appearance of an acropolis, from whatever point on the lake it might be viewed."

A chalice was discovered at Antioch, on the Orontes, in 1910, with portrait figures of Christ and ten Apostles. It has been ascribed to the latter part of the first century A.D. A preliminary report on the object, which is now in New York, is given in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1916, Oct.–Dec., by Mr. Gustavus A. Eisen:—"The inner bowl is of inferior workmanship, and older than the exterior ornaments, which were affixed somewhat later. The latter show the technique, skill and taste of a Greek master. The heads and faces show such individuality and character as to suggest that they are portraits. The bowl was undoubtedly a sacred relic, and the sculptures were added to help preserve and ornament it."

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book

still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. The year 1915, being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land.—Colonel Watson's book (see the last paragraph) is having a steady sale; it should be read by all who would make themselves acquainted with the progress of Palestinian research.

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary*. An edition of the latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 65.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were:—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, 1915, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s*. 9*d*. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s*. 6*d*. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1916 is published in the Annual Report now being issued.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together

for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology: Vol. XXXVIII, Part 7: Samaritan Phylacteries and Amulets (*continued*), by Dr. Gaster.

Studies, Dec., 1916.

Irish Theological Quarterly, Jan., 1917.

Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. VIII.

Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, 1915–16.

Scottish Geographical Magazine, Jan., 1917 : Some Geographical Notes on Ancient Egypt, by W. R. Kermack.

The Expository Times, Dec., 1916 : New Light on the Hittite Problem, by Prof. J. H. Moulton. Jan., 1917 : The Last Days of Babylon's Independence, by Dr. T. G. Pinches. Feb., 1917 : The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis, by Prof. Sayce.

The Hebrew-Christian Alliance Quarterly, Vol. I, Jan. 1 : a new journal devoted to the interests of Hebrew-Christian endeavour, edited by Rev. Rohold, 165, Elizabeth Street, Toronto, Canada, and published 3719, W. 12th Str., Chicago, Ill., U.S.A. Price 50 cents.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXVII, 4 : The Judas Iscariot Curse, by H. Martin ; etc.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XX, 4 : Preliminary report on the Great Chalice of Antioch containing the earliest portraits of Christ and the Apostles, by G. A. Eisen ; etc.

Annual Report of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, 1914–15.

Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan., 1917.

The Homiletic Review.

The Biblical World.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. IV, Part 6 : The Evolution of the Bird in Decorative Art, by K. N. Chapman ; etc. Vol. V, Part 2 : The Art of the Akkadians, by Prof. A. T. Clay ; The Art of the Sumerians, by G. S. Duncan.

Revue Biblique, July and Oct., 1916 : The Jewish Conception of the Soul during the Persian Period, by J. Touzard ; The Representation of Solar Deities in Babylonia, by Dr. G. Contenau ; A Visit to Island of Rūad, by B. P. R. Savignac.

Journal Asiatique, Jan.–Feb., 1916.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

Presented by M. Ernest Leroux :—

Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales : Les Monuments Palestiniens et Judaïques (Moab, Judée, Philistie, Samarie, Galilee), by René Dussaud, Conservateur-Adjoint des Antiquités Orientales ; avec une planche hors texte et 82 gravures (Paris : Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte, VI^{e} ; 1912).

From Walter Morrison, Esq. :—

Carchemish: Report on the excavations at Djerabis on behalf of the British Museum, conducted by C. Leonard Woolley, M.A., and T. E. Lawrence, B.A. Part I. Introductory. By D. G. Hogarth, M.A., F.B.A.

From Mrs. Ross Scott :—

La Syria et la Palestine, by Van de Velde. Also the English translation in 2 vols.

Jerusalem Explored, by Pierotti. 2 vols.

Biblical Researches in Palestine, by Dr. Robinson. 3 vols.

City of our Lord: Photographs. Anon.

The Unvarying East, by Rev. E. Hardy.

With the Beduins, by Gray Hill.

Romance of the Holy Land, by C. Leach.

The Holy Land, by R. Hichens.

Exploring in New Testament Fields, by A. R. Habershon.

Palestine Portrayed, by Davis Smith.

Land of Israel, by A. Keith.

The Land of the Bible, by J. Tillotson.

Giant Cities of Bashan, by Rev. J. Porter.

Palestine and its Transformation, by E. Huntington.

Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem, by D. S. Margoliouth.

Holy Land, Egypt, etc., by F. Bedford and W. Thompson.

Walks in Palestine, by H. A. Harper.

Pictorial Palestine, Ancient and Modern, by Rev. G. R. Lees.

Jerusalem, the Holy City, by Mrs. Oliphant.

Three Years in Libyan Desert, by J. C. Falls.

The Tabernacle in the Wilderness, by W. G. Rhind.

Egypt of the Past, by E. Wilson.

Palmyra and Zenobia, by W. Wright, D.D.

Land of Gilead, by L. Oliphant.

Nineveh and its Palaces, by J. Bonomi.

The Babylonian Talmud, by M. L. Rodkinson ; revised by Rev. Dr. I. M. Wise.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

OUR RIDE FROM GAZA TO JERUSALEM, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE GREEK HOLY FIRE.

By the late Lord Kitchener.[1]

While engaged on the Survey of Gaza and its neighbourhood, we determined to take part in the ceremonies of the Greek Easter at Jerusalem. Leaving the non-commissioned officers sketching in the detail after the triangulation was finished, Conder and I started on the morning of Thursday, the 22nd of April [1875], for Jerusalem. Our little Arab horses turned out as fresh as paint, little dreaming they had sixty miles in front of them that day. We took one servant with us, to carry the lunch and to look after our horses in Jerusalem. After a hasty cup of tea we were soon in the saddle, passing through the palm trees round Gaza into the immense olive grove which, it is said, was planted before the Mohammedan conquest; and certainly some of the trees look very ancient, the old trunks having almost disappeared and young trees, now looking old in their turn, having sprung from their roots. Thence into the open plain, green with barley; on our right were the hills of Judea looking blue in the distance, on whose peaks we recognised some of our old trigonometrical stations; on our left, not far distant, were the yellow sandhills, which seem to be ever encroaching and continually covering cultivated land.

As we trotted along we passed several mud villages, surrounded by a few cactus hedges, and with perhaps one or two palm trees hanging their graceful foliage high above the flat roofs on which, at this time of year, a goodly crop of grass is growing. The natives cheerfully gave us the usual salutation, "Welcome!" as we passed through. At one of these villages a young calf gave us quite a

[1] [This article, together with that printed in the *Quarterly Statement*, pp. 36–39, was found among reports and other papers of the late Lord Kitchener, in his handwriting and over his signature. So far as is known it has never been printed or otherwise used, and, in fact, the MS. was not finally ready for the press. Some adjustments that were necessary in the way of punctuation, paragraphing, and the correction of oversights, have been made by Miss Estelle Blyth, the temporary Assistant Secretary.—Ed.]

chase; taking Conder's horse for its mother, it followed, and nothing would induce it to leave us till at last we had to canter away from it; then it followed for a long distance till, at a deep wady where the road gave a sharp turn, it lost sight of us, and we were saved from committing an unintentional theft.

The road took us past Umm Lakis, which some have tried hard to identify with Lachish; only a few ruined cisterns now mark the place. Ajlan, or Eglon, we left on our right, and made our way to Keratiyeh, where were some fine Crusading ruins of the castle of Galatia. Soon Blanchegarde with its white cliffs became visible, and we rode for it, meaning to lunch there. One feels a curious sensation of ownership on coming to a piece of country that one has personally surveyed; here I knew every turn of the road, and felt as if I had met an old friend. We soon arrived at Tell es-Safi, which everyone agrees must have been Blanchegarde, and which we considered to have been the Philistine city of Gath. It was, therefore, famous for the adventures of two heroes. The lion-hearted Richard of England made at one time his headquarters at the native town of Goliath of Gath.

The site itself is very conspicuous, standing up well on the plain, and showing its white sides for miles around. On the top is a native village where, when we were surveying the country, a native chose to answer one of our corporals by taking up a stone, which he dropped pretty quickly on the sight of the muzzle of a pistol. He was eventually captured and sent to Hebron, in spite of the entreaties of the principal men of the village, who came round our tents begging him off. "Is the gate of mercy open, O Captain?" they cried, but were rather rebuffed by the reply, "There is no gate of mercy." The governor of Hebron put the offender in prison till he had got every para out of him and then let him go, writing to us to beg us to send him anyone who offended us in the least. The principal revenue of the governor is derived from these fines.

A little beyond Tell es-Safi we sat down under a scrubby bush to have our lunch. How delightful was the long pull at one of our tea-bottles, which we always deny ourselves up to lunch time, however thirsty we may be, sometimes with the horrible result that the guide, less self-denying, has finished it for us. After an hour's rest we are in the saddle again, and now the road is not nearly so good over the low hills, or Shephelah, which contains so many

Biblical sites, having been the scene of the continual fighting between the Israelites and the Philistines. Finding our way through valleys covered with barley above our horses' backs, and over ridges bare and rocky, we passed the famous well of Latron, which we looked at with interest, and then struck into the high road leading from Jaffa to Jerusalem. We soon arrived at Bab el-Wad, a small inn at the entrance to the hills of Judea; here we determined to rest and dine, so, after seeing to our horses, we picked out a chicken, and ordered it to be forthwith slain and cooked. After a long chase an urchin brought in the prey in triumph, and in half an hour we had the satisfaction of eating it. After three hours' rest for the horses we started again, but unfortunately my horse Selim turned out lame, and had to be left behind with the servant, to come on quietly next day. So we rode along alone through the growing twilight, which softened down the hard features of the hills and gave, with the deep purple tones of the shadows, the most beautiful effect of distance and grandeur. It was 9 p.m. before we got to Jerusalem, and the moon was just rising, and tipped the walls of the city with its light.

Next day was the Greek Good Friday. We went to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre about 8 p.m. The church was densely packed with a mixture of Greek Christians, Russian pilgrims in their long boots and dark clothes, and a few Arabs and Armenians; all carried tapers, though some did not light them till later. Turkish soldiers kept a broad passage round the Holy Sepulchre. About 10 p.m. a long procession came down the Greek church, and then wound round the Holy Sepulchre. All were in black, and bore lighted tapers; after the processional cross came fifty priests two and two, then six Bishops, and lastly the Bishop of Petra, the acting Patriarch: there was no Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem at this time, as the Arabs had refused to acknowledge the patriarch chosen for them by the Greeks, and another had not then been appointed. All the Bishops wore most beautiful black velvet vestments almost covered with very elaborate silver embroidery, and black headdresses with long veils hanging down behind; the Bishop of Petra alone carried a black crozier, and had two priests with censers in front of him. In silence, three times the procession moved round the Holy Sepulchre. Seven chairs had been arranged, and after the third round the Bishops sat down in a semicircle, facing the door of the Holy Sepulchre. A number of psalms were then repeated by the

Bishops, each Bishop standing up in turn and, after being a good deal prompted, singing his part without a book. I was holding on to the back of one of the Bishop's chairs, and my Bishop often helped his neighbours through when they were in difficulties. After some time the procession reformed and moved around the Holy Sepulchre again, this time chanting. After the third time, the Bishop of Petra entered the Holy Sepulchre, and, after putting out all the lamps, closed and sealed the door; then all came back to their chairs, and began singing psalms again. The congregation lit their tapers when the second procession started, and held them so carelessly that I saw one Greek, with long greasy ringlets, suddenly in a blaze from the taper of an old Russian devotee; we fully expected the same fate, but escaped with quantities of grease. The Bishops kept on the same nasal singing, and as it was 1 a.m., we forced our way with some difficulty out of the church and left them.

The next day, Saturday, about 2 p.m., the Holy Fire was to appear. At 10.30 a.m. we met the consul's dragoman and cavass; the latter, in a most gorgeous blue and gold uniform and carrying his large silver-headed stick, walked in front of us. The church was densely packed, and crowds were continually trying to get in; with some difficulty we forced our way through and gained the Latin part of the church, and, after going up a number of dark stairs, we found ourselves in the Latin gallery, where front places had been kept for us. From this position we had a bird's-eye view of all the north side of the Rotunda, and of the Greek church. All round the galleries below temporary wooden scaffolding had been erected to give more accommodation; these structures were principally occupied by women and priests. The crowd was similar to that of the night before, except that there were fewer Russians. All carried bundles of unlighted tapers. About two hundred Turkish soldiers with fixed bayonets kept the space round the Holy Sepulchre for the procession to pass; an energetic though stout old colonel was in command, and seemed to do more by personally shoving each man into his place, and by using his koorbatch on the crowd, than by commands. The crowd on the south side were Armenians and Copts, who were very quiet, while the Greeks on our side were very excited, continually shouting different Arabic refrains accompanied by clapping of hands in time. The moment one refrain died out another was started, probably by some excited being on his neighbour's shoulders, who for a time would lead the cry till in his turn he was drowned by

some other verse. The most common cry was, "This is the tomb of Our Lord!" those nearest it beating the time on the tomb itself; then followed, "God give victory to the Sultan!" Another longer one was, "The Messiah has bought us with His blood, therefore we keep this feast and we curse the Jews!" Another, more rarely used, was, "O Jews! O Jews! your feast is a monkey's feast!"

About 1.30 p.m. a rush of men in white came down the avenue of soldiers, and appeared as if they would break the soldiers' ranks, but only a few reached the fire-hole, the others being cleverly diverted into another aisle; these few fought their way to their goal and held on, adding to the excitement by renewed cries and gesticulations.

At 2 p.m. the procession began to file out of the Greek church; after the processional cross came fourteen banners two and two, then fifty priests in white and gold vestments, bearing lighted tapers, two incense-bearers, the Bishop of Petra carrying an ivory crozier, and continually stopping to give his blessing, two silver maces and a banner closed this procession; all wore black headdresses. The chanting of the procession was completely drowned by the shouts of the congregation.

After the second time round, one bareheaded priest came to the fire-hole, the soldiers making way for him; his only duty was to carry the first fire out to a mounted messenger, for the church at Bethlehem. After the third time round, the officiating Bishop was unrobed, and entered the Holy Sepulchre. The women in the galleries raised a shrill quivering wail, and all eyes were turned upwards as if to see the visible descent of the fire. In about two minutes the bells clashed out, and a light was seen in the fire-hole. The waiting priest leaned in, and then suddenly rushed down the path kept for him, with a flaming torch; he escaped, but the lines were immediately broken and a scene of wild excitement ensued. Torch after torch was brought out of the hole, only to be pulled down and extinguished by the too-eager people. A forest of arms seemed stretched out towards the fire with bundles of tapers. For several minutes the Greeks failed to get a light, every torch being put out by the numbers of tapers that were pushed against it. In the meantime the Armenians and Copts on the other side, who were not nearly so excited, got well lighted, and soon the fire went round the galleries, and the whole church was ablaze. In the midst of this the Bishop of Petra, on the shoulders of a dozen priests, was carried

up the Greek church at a run, his long white hair loose, and carrying an enormous blazing torch held high above him ; this was the finest part of the whole spectacle. A stifling smell of burning tallow assailed us from the reeking flames below. Some of the pilgrims threw the fire about their faces, and ran round the Holy Sepulchre with it. This, however, was soon stopped, and the soldiers again cleared the way for another procession. The Armenians, Copts, and Syrians, who also believe in the miracle of the Holy Fire, have their procession after its appearance.

This procession was so long that it formed a continuous band round the Holy Sepulchre. First came the Armenians, a processional cross, four banners, twenty-six priests in white and yellow vestments, two incense-bearers continually censing the Bishop when he stopped to give his blessing, four candle-bearers, the Armenian Bishop in a magnificent white and gold embroidered cope and an enormous mitre studded with enamels and jewels, two train-bearers, one mace, and six banners. Then came the Copts, a processional cross, two priests carrying magnificently bound copies of the Gospels, six red banners, four priests wearing monks' cowls, two incense-bearers in large crowns, the Coptic Bishop in a large white crown and white and gold vestments, two train-bearers, two banners, and one cross. Then the Syrians, one cross, four banners, two incense-bearers, four priests carrying silver-bound copies of the Gospels, the Syrian Bishop in yellow and gold vestments and a monk's cowl in cloth of gold drawn over his head, and one banner closed the procession. All the priests were in white, yellow, or blue vestments. Each Bishop stopped every few paces to deliver his blessing, which he did with a small cross he carried, the incense-bearers at the same time censing him. They went three times round the Holy Sepulchre, and this ended the ceremonies of the Greek Holy Fire.

In the evening we went again, and found our way up alone into the dark deserted Latin gallery. At 11 p.m. a long Greek procession filed down the Greek church, and round the Holy Sepulchre. This procession was very similar to the one before the Greek Fire, except that after the processional cross came two fan-shaped silver ornaments borne on poles, while the Bishops all wore white crowns studded with jewels, and each carried in his hand a tiny jewelled book which the people bent forward to kiss as they passed ; before the Bishop of Petra two triple candles were carried, the candles curiously bent and twisted. The effect was most strange, looking

down from our dark and solitary position above them on the blaze of light and colour below. After going three times round the Holy Sepulchre, the Bishop of Petra entered the Holy Sepulchre, the banners, fans, and crosses being arranged on both sides of the entrance. Suddenly the bells clashed out, and the banners, crosses, and fans were twirled round and round by their bearers as fast as possible; three times they did this, and then the seven Bishops sat down on their chairs as on Good Friday, and began repeating psalms in the same way. We left them at 1 a.m., still singing. What struck us in all these ceremonies was the extraordinary enthusiasm and devotion of the people, and the carelessness of the Greek priests while performing their services.

On Monday we rode back to Gaza, and continued our Survey.

H. H. KITCHENER,
Lt., R.E.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, *p.* 178.)

The story of Sheikh 'Abd of the Desert Tribes.

It has been mentioned before that Sheikh 'Abd was from the desert, and that he arrived in Jerusalem riding on a wild beast of the desert.

On arrival at the city he dismounted, and said to the wild beast: "O, blessed one, return to thy place," and the beast went off. The sheikh remained standing where he was, looking at the people; in his hand there was the horn of a *wa'al* (وعل), "mountain goat."[1] Then the sheikh began to walk about in the markets at Jerusalem, and in the shops, and helped himself to what he liked,

[1] "The Arabs call the roedeer both *'ayyāl* and *wa'l*. *Wa'l* is the proper name of the Persian wild goat, but is also often used for the Arabic or Sin Ibex, though only by those who do not live within its range."—Art. "Deer," in *The International Standard Bible Dictionary*.

no one daring to hinder him. One day some women were coming in from the country, with jugs full of *laban* (sour milk) on their heads. The sheikh followed them, and when they arrived at the market, Sheikh 'Abd beat one of them on her head with his stick, and broke her jar. When it fell to the ground there was a snake in the middle of the *laban*. When the bystanders saw it they were astonished, and said: "the sheikh must have 'a secret' and must be in close relation with God, because he knew that the jar contained a venomous snake which would have poisoned anyone who took the *laban*." The sheikh still continued to go round in the market in his rags, until one day he fell ill. He went to the nuns to get some medicine, and received an emetic. He drank it, and when he reached the Damascus Gate he began to vomit, and fell on the road and lay there in the sun in the sight of all that passed. One man, 'Aisa el-Akhras, took compassion on him, and going to the police he said: "Is it lawful in the sight of God, that a man, a stranger, and a Muslim, should be left in the road, with no one to look after him?" The policeman said: "What are we to do with him? Are we obliged to look after people who drink and who throw themselves down in the road and go to sleep?" Said 'Aisa: "I beg you kindly to find someone to carry him to my house, and I will look after this Sheikh 'Abd. He is no drunkard; perhaps he has got epilepsy" (الصاعة). The policeman said: "I have no one here to carry him." So Sheikh 'Aisa returned to Sheikh 'Abd and finding him foaming at the mouth like a camel, he seized hold of some people and said: "For the sake of the Prophet carry this derwish with me to my house," and they did so.

Sheikh 'Abd remained in that state until the second day when he recovered. When Sheikh 'Aisa told him that the policeman had said that he was drunk and had refused to help him, Sheikh 'Abd remained quiet and began to mutter to himself over and over again: "Allah, Muhammad," and he continued in this state some days and would not speak to any one. Then one day he said: "Ya, 'Aisa, look! here is gold, here is gold," and he put his hand on a paving stone (*balāṭa*); then, after being quiet a few minutes, he commenced again saying the same words. Sheikh 'Aisa thought that perhaps there was some hidden treasure there, belonging to the owner of the house; so one night he assembled his wives and brought a *fas* (hoe), and lifting the paving stone he began to dig, while his harim removed the earth. He continued thus till dawn but

found nothing. It then occurred to him that his neighbour, who lived below, might notice this, and might be aroused from his sleep, because the hole reached to the house below. As nothing had been found, he thought it would be better to close up the hole again, which he did. When Sheikh 'Abd saw what they had been doing he said nothing, nor would he eat, but kept crying: "Allah, Muhammad." One day 'Aisa said: "It is better for us to come outside the house," and they went out of the room and sat on a verandah near a corner. Then Sheikh 'Abd said: "Come near to me, O, 'Aisa"; so he came near to him. Then Sheikh 'Abd said: "By the will of God you will have a good end, and will do much good to others, and the government will not take your son to be a soldier, but he will be free from military service, and God will bestow good on you and on your house and will save you from any troubles." Then he embraced him and began to kiss him on both cheeks, and almost at once he died. Then Sheikh 'Aisa said to his harīm (wives): "Sheikh 'Abd has died and is now in the corner, and we cannot sleep this night. It is better to leave him here because the sheikh's body is very heavy, and I am unable to carry him outside the house myself. I will go to the Haram and bring a man to read over him" (the Koran). Then 'Aisa went to the mosque and found Sheikh Rīsha (رِيشا) and asked him kindly to return with him to his house and pray over the body of Sheikh 'Abd. Sheikh Rīsha said: "God have mercy on you and on Sheikh 'Abd," and he arose and went. When they arrived at the house, Sheikh Rīsha found that the place where Sheikh 'Abd's body lay was very narrow. So Sheikh Rīsha said: "'Aisa, Sheikh 'Abd is close to the wall, and he is not turned to the Kiblah" (towards Mecca). 'Aisa said: "My brother, the Sheikh 'Abd is very heavy, and I am an old man, and I have no one with me to turn him to the right side; leave him as he is now, and in the morning we will bring people to lift him." Then Sheikh Rīsha replied: "I can turn him alone with one hand, now see what I do"; so the Sheikh put his hand on the navel (سرّ) of Sheikh 'Abd and said: "B'ism Allah er-Rahmān er-Rahīm. My brother, Sheikh 'Abd, I beg you to listen to me; we are of one sect, and now I tell you to come away from the wall, and turn to the Kiblah of God," and immediately Sheikh 'Abd moved from his place into the middle of the house. Then Sheikh Rīsha, while his hand was still on the navel, said:

"No, this is not right, you moved too much, move back a little," and he moved as he was directed, as though people were carrying him. While the sheikh was reading to him he saw on Sheikh 'Abd's finger a brass ring, and he put out his hand to take it. As he took hold of the hand of Sheikh 'Abd, it closed so that it could not be opened. Then Sheikh Risha said: "My brother, Sheikh 'Abd, we are brothers and of one sect, give me your ring." But all his efforts to open the hand were of no use. Then 'Aisa said: "It is better to leave him alone; it seems he does not wish it; perhaps he promised the ring to someone else." So he desisted and went on reading over him until the morning. In the morning 'Aisa went and ordered the sheikh called el-Walāyeh (الولايا) to wash the body; and this man, as he was washing him, saw the ring on the hand and wished to take it. But Sheikh 'Abd shut his hand as before and refused to part with the ring. When Sheikh 'Aisa and Sheikh Rīsha saw this they said to the man: "This is what he did before. He does not want to give the ring; perhaps he promised it to someone else." After the washing four men began to carry the body to the mosque for prayer. When they reached the gate of the Haram he flew up with the coffin with the four bearers hanging on to it, and he continued to fly until they reached the gate es-Sakhrah, where he and the men descended. Now it was Friday, and the Haram was crowded with people, and the Mutesarrif, and the Mufti, and Salim Efendi el-Hassainy, and other members of the government, were there and saw it all. When they had prayed for him at es-Sakhrah, Sheikh Rīsha drew near and said: "Where is the pledge of Sheikh 'Abd?" And Sheikh 'Abd lifted his hand from the coffin and held it up until he took the ring, after which the hand fell back. Then he flew up from es-Sakhrah and descended at the place called el-Kās between es-Sakhrah and el-Aksa, and they prayed over him again there. Then he flew up from there and came down by the place Saidna Suleiman, and they prayed again over him there. Then they began to carry the body to the cemetery near the Haram, because they had made a grave for him there; but when they reached the gate of the Haram he flew, with a great continuous flight, until he reached another burying ground Makhbarat el-Yūsifiyeh (اليوسفية), and he descended there, upon the makām of Sheikh Hassan Abu el-Halāweh. The people followed him all the way and when he arrived there the Mufti and Salīm

Efendi al-Ḥassaini directed the people to dig a grave for him there. They sent a man to bring some paving stones and cement, and as they were digging they found a hole, roofed in, which they thought must be someone's grave. When, however, they removed the cover they found that it was a new grave, in which no one had been buried; so they buried him there. The Mutesarrif made an order that a lantern should be lighted at the grave, in his honour, every Friday night.

A story of Sheikh 'Aisa.

We mentioned before a man called Sheikh 'Abd from the desert and 'Aisa el-Akhras in whose house the sheikh died. It is narrated that, after the death of Sheikh 'Abd, 'Aisa got sheep and goats and started a dairy. One night, when he was sleeping with his flock, he saw, standing among his sheep, a man clothed in green with a green *jibbeh* and green turban, and who said to him: "Why don't you go to prayer? To-morrow, Friday, go down to the market and sell your flock and go to prayer." So 'Aisa rose from his sleep, trembling with fear, but saw no one; and he exclaimed: "Who can be the man who speaks such words? It is perhaps only a dream." So he continued his business of selling milk; and whenever the thought of his dream recurred to his mind he would say to himself: "I make three napoleons profit: by Allah, I cannot sell the goats." After a week, on the following Friday, he went to the Ḥaram, and entered with the congregation. He sat close to the door which is opposite the maḳām of el-Khidr (Peace be to him!). The Ḥatib was giving lessons because it was not yet the time of prayer. 'Aisa made his devotions, and put his head between his hands, and began to listen to what the Ḥatib was saying. While he was engaged in this a derwīsh came and knelt close to him, but 'Aisa took no notice of him, and remained silent, listening to the Ḥatib. He heard him say: "My Lord, increase in exaltation, and rank, and nobility, and greatness, and honour." When 'Aisa heard this he exclaimed: "Oh, God, grant to me to visit him"; and he lifted up his head and looked through the door, and saw a man like the one he had seen in his dream coming to him from the maḳām el-Khidr. He reached the door and came close to 'Aisa and slowly whispered in his ear words without meaning. Then they went to the mosque. But the Ḥatib uttered the same prayer which he had said before, and, 'Aisa, when he heard it, was afraid,

and his tarbūsh began to rise from his head. When the man had passed him, 'Aisa began to tremble and weep, and he felt himself unable to sit, and became utterly exhausted from weeping. And he saw a hand which led him out of the mosque before the prayer, and he left the Ḥaram in haste, and fled away without guidance by way of el-Wād until he arrived at the maḳām of 'Allameh ed-dīn el-Budīre. There he encountered a man who took him and beat him and turned him back the way he had come. So he fled away and remained running until he arrived at the door of his own house, weeping and trembling, and when he entered his house he exclaimed to his ḥarīm: "Fetch me a barber to bleed me, for I am ill." When the barber came and saw in what condition he was, he refused to bleed him, but he said: "I will send you some medicine to cool your blood, it is better than bleeding you." When he had drunk the medicine he became more at ease, and the trembling and weeping left him, but he was unable to leave his house; when he wished to come out his feet would not carry him. They began to bring doctors and sheikhs of many kinds to him, but none that did him any good. They even brought him Jewish doctors and Christian monks, but it was of no good.

The people about him saw that he was able to walk well enough, and would not believe that he had anything the matter with him: they said he looked stronger than a young man. But when 'Aisa saw that he could get no benefit from doctors he remained at home in prayer and devotional exercises. It was noticed that when he was alone he talked to himself, as though a crowd were about him, and that he was in the habit of ejaculating: "Thank God, I need nothing, only depart from me." He remained in this state a whole year, until one day a man called Sheikh 'Aziri (عزيري) came from Damascus. This man was gifted (مكاشف) and experienced in affairs of this kind. He was well used to the treatment of people and to the manufacture of amulets, and could bind and loose men and animals, even wild beasts. So the friends of 'Aisa went to him and brought him to see him, and 'Aisa welcomed him, saying: "Welcome, my lord, O sheikh." He ordered coffee, but the sheikh said: "I drink no coffee nor do I smoke water-pipes or cigarettes, but have come only to visit you. Tell me what has happened to you." 'Aisa told him all his experiences. The sheikh said: "From what direction does the trouble come to you?" And 'Aisa replied:

"The trouble comes to me from every direction." The sheikh said: "What is the name of your mother"? And he replied: "Her name is Na'ameh." The sheikh was silent a little and then said: "Aisa, this affair is a very serious one; no one is competent to deal with it. But now, bring me a hen's egg." And they brought it to him. He broke the egg and took the shell, and tied it with a thread, and said to 'Aisa: "Put this round your neck." Then he read something in the white of the egg, and he said to him: "Take this egg, and give it to a black dog to eat;" and 'Aisa did what he was told. Then the sheikh said: "Now come with me to the town." And 'Aisa got up and went out with the sheikh. While they were walking along, the sheikh said to him: "'Aisa, your affair is a very difficult one; no one is competent to deal with it; for this that has happened to you comes from holy ones. The man who touched you in the Haram and whispered in your ear was el-Khidr (On him be peace!); he is the same who came to you in your sleep, and it is he who has now bound you in your house. But the sheikh, the derwish who was sitting close to you in the Haram, is the very Sheikh 'Abd who died in your house, and it is he who brought you out from the Haram and back to your own house. He came to your assistance, fearing that you could not bear the burden, and he is the sheikh who gave you the 'power'" (عهد). Said 'Aisa: "I did not know that he gave me 'power.'" The sheikh replied: "Lie not to me; he gave you the 'power' before he died. Do you not remember that he took hold of you and drew you to his bosom and kissed you on both cheeks? That is the 'power' he gave you. Do you not remember, when he flew into the Haram, that he went to the throne of Solomon? That was to charge the jinns of Solomon that they should obey you. Those who come to you when you are alone in your house, are all from el-Khidr as I have told you. This you must always keep secret (مكاشف), and you are empowered to know about all kinds of matters (الامور). I was desirous of living in Jerusalem, but I am unable to live in the same town where you are. I command you, however, beware of being covetous with people. When they come to you to ask for anything which might bring harm or trouble to someone else, do not use your power to bring harm on anyone, however much money they may offer you; very many shall come to you with many requests, and whenever they come to you be content with what

they give you so that no one may miss your generosity (كرم); and speak no secret to anyone, especially any that you hear from women. If you do all this you will enjoy your position in quietness, and the supply of your needs will never cease, and you will die in honour." Then they entered the coffee shop and the sheikh asked for coffee, and 'Aisa said: "Why did you not drink coffee in my house?" And the sheikh said: "Because you are now poor, and all you had has been taken from you by sheikhs and false doctors" (حكومة). So, after a little final advice, they arose and departed on their several ways.

'Aisa returned to his house and never went out. After he had been eighteen years in his house, one night, robbers broke in and took all they could find and went off; as they were going out 'Aisa saw them and ran after them as far as the door of the house; but they escaped, because he himself was unable to go out of the house to recapture what they had stolen. He has, however, a busy life. He reveals to people what they enquire about; many times women come in to consult him and have to return without seeing him because he is so fully occupied; others have to wait his promise to see them from week to week; fellahin sometimes sleep in his house because their villages are far away, and many of them bring him presents from these distant villages, such as sheep, goats, chickens, and corn. Sometimes the people pass the night with him in order that he may assemble together the jinns (جان) and hear from them what his visitors seek to know and how they are to obtain what they may happen to desire. He also makes amulets (حجبن) to induce affection between a man and his wife, and other amulets to ensure success in business. The sheep and goats which he owned before all these events are now looked after by his son, and 'Aisa dedicated five of them to the name of el-Khidr. The milk of these must not be sold; the rest of the milk he sells. These five sheep multiplied in time and became fifty; but one year there was snow and severe cold, and very little food could be found for the goats and sheep. Many of them died in other districts, and at this time all the goats dedicated to el-Khidr, except five, died.

One day 'Aisa's son was summoned to military service. His family sent petitions to the government to say that the father was incapable of work (عكيلة) and unable to leave the house, and that

it was not lawful to take the son under these circumstances. The government asked that the father should come that the doctors might examine him, but he sent word: "If I were able to come to the doctors I should not ask the government to leave my son with me," and he sent a testimonial from the neighbours and from the *mukhtār* (مخاتير) to bear witness that he was unable to go out. Then the Dābet (الدابة) "officer" ordered them to bring him in a carriage or on an ass; but 'Aisa replied: "I am unable to come out of the door of my house." The officer became very angry and said: "If he does not come out we shall certainly enter his son's name as a soldier." At last 'Aisa got four men to carry him, and as he went out of the door his legs became as though dead. When they reached the Serai they laid him down; the doctor came and examined him, and found nothing wrong with him. The officer exclaimed: "You are a malingerer (Turkish اونصاجى): you have done this to save your son." 'Aisa replied: "God cause you to die of paralysis! Take the boy as a soldier, and God will provide for me, only command someone to bring four men to carry me home." Then the officer said: "Are you really unable to walk?" And he ordered four soldiers to lay him in the road. While the doctor was watching him lying there, a carriage passed and nearly ran over him, as he was unable to move out of the way. And when they had carried him to his house, 'Aisa requested the commandant to send the doctor to him that he might pay him his fees, and he prepared a letter from the chief men of the city (اكابر البلد) stating that he was incompetent (عكيلة), and he sent and sold the five goats that belonged to el-Khidr. When the doctor came he gave him the letter and the price[1] of the goats: so the doctor returned and handed in the letter, after he had testified to having seen the man nearly run over, and the commandant gave orders to release the boy of all military service.

And this is the reason why the five goats had been preserved by el-Khidr; it was to save the son from becoming a soldier.

[1] Evidently a bribe.

(*To be continued.*)

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE.[1]

By Estelle Blyth.

The future of Palestine and Syria is a problem that comes up for consideration from time to time, and, indeed, can never rest until these much-tried and deeply-wronged countries are freed from Turkish rule. This now seems possible in the threatened collapse of the once-great Turkish Empire; and in view of it the future of Palestine assumes a more definite shape in our minds. Palestine is no lonely little island, lost in the midst of a great sea, whose possession is of little moment to any one; her position on the map makes her as real and vital a factor in the world's history now as she has ever been. The Russian pilgrims ardently believe that in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is the actual centre of the world, and it is certain that in Palestine, which contains the dearest shrines of the Christian and the Jew, are centred some of the chief and most urgent problems of the world.

We shall start from a clearer standpoint if we consider Palestine and Syria as being quite distinct from one another. They are so, but because they are next-door neighbours and under the same rule, they are always spoken of together, and counted as one. The Turkish Empire has been for so long in a tottering condition that any interference with one part of it might well have caused the whole crazy structure to collapse—an undesirable complication from the European point of view; but now the cold hand of doom seems to be closing upon Turkey, and of necessity the question arises, "What will happen then? Who will have this part—and who that?" There is nothing more alluring and less fruitful than speculation on political problems; even now Turkey may be allowed to retain some of her old possessions; indeed, she must, though, let us hope, under the most vigilant supervision; the thought arouses in lovers of Palestine the fear that, as usual, *she* will be sacrificed.

[1] [The substance of this article appeared in the *Near East*, but in view of its general interest for readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, it is reprinted with the Editor's kind permission.—Ed.]

There are many voices being raised now in favour of Syria passing into French keeping. It seems the best, almost a natural, solution of her question. France has long cared for Syria, and Syria for her; France has spent a good deal upon Syria, one way or another; there is something curiously akin between the two peoples, and it is pretty certain that Syria as a whole would welcome French rule. Syria would present a fruitful field for the exercise of that engineering skill in which France is so eminent; there are great mountains to be bridled by railways and roads, rivers to be spanned by bridges and harnessed for irrigation, valleys and plains to be cultivated for the use of men. For the purposes of our argument we will separate Palestine and Syria as completely as if such division did indeed exist.

The history and influence of a land are so largely determined by its geographical position and peculiarities, that there can be no real discussion of the future of Palestine without due consideration of her physical features, characteristics, and relationships. Briefly, then, it is a small, narrow strip of land running along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, dividing the sea from the desert, and presenting within its narrow confines geographical features as varied and distinct as its history—a land unlike any other, remaining mysterious, aloof, remote. Geographically it is an insignificant item on the globe, a highway along which successive generations of races, wars, conquests, changes, and governments have passed, raising clouds of dust and leaving many footprints, but not altering the character of the road at all. These all pass, but the road remains. Palestine stretches from the mouth of the Litany River (32° 20′ N.) south to where the Wadi Ghazzi joins the sea (32° 28′ N.) south of Gaza, and running south-east includes Beersheba. The western boundary is indefinite; Syria proper is the northern, and Jordan marks the east, but the point at which Palestine ends and the Arabian Desert begins is vague. The configuration of the land is thus exactly what Isaiah describes it: "A highway out of Egypt to Assyria." In those accepted limits Palestine is less than one-seventh of the size of Great Britain. "It is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven," said Moses. The chain of Lebanon runs north and south, Lebanon being divided from Anti-Lebanon by a narrow valley. Lebanon belongs to Syria rather than to Palestine, but from this range the four big rivers take their rise, flowing across the length and breadth of Palestine.

The Litany runs west, the Barada (the Abana of the Bible) east, rejoicing Damascus on its way, the Jordan rises in Hermon and flows south to the Dead Sea, and the Orontes, rising in the upper valley between the two Lebanons, flows north to Antioch, then turns west to seek its outlet in the Mediterranean. Only the Orontes and the Litany find an outlet; the Jordan dies in the Dead Sea, and the Barada in the desert.

Palestine has three lakes, all famous. Lake Huleh, "the Waters of Merom," lies to the south of Lebanon, surrounded by swamps and thick jungles of papyrus reed. The Dead Sea is nearly 1,300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; its bitter waters wash a barren shore whereon no vegetable life is seen; it is the very type of desolation, of a land under a curse. The Sea of Galilee, on the contrary, is one of the chief beauties of Palestine; it is a deep, beautiful blue in colour, its waters are sweet and clear, though it is still subject to swift and terrible storms such as Christ rebuked long ago. "Jehovah hath created seven seas," said the rabbis, "but the Sea of Gennesaret is His delight." In Palestine, as in Eden of old, there goes up a mist from the face of the earth, her incense in the sacrament of dawn, for it is then that it rolls away before one's eyes, leaving the ground all moistened and refreshed before the real heat of the day begins.

Sir George Adam Smith in his wonderful book, "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land," defines very clearly the disposition of Palestine, in "a series of four parallel lines or bands running north and south," thus:—

Sea	Maritime Plain	The Central Range	The Jordan Valley	The Eastern Range	Desert

The central range is the "Mount of the Amorites" of the Book Deuteronomy. South of Hermon is a high plateau intersected by a deep ravine running north and south, which forms the bed of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The Mountains of Moab, of Judea, and of Galilee, though interesting from a Biblical and historical point of view, need not be dealt with at length, being practically offshoots of the big ranges, as Carmel, with its bold head thrust outward to the sea, is a continuation of the chain of Lebanon. Still, there will rise to mind names dear to us from childhood, such as Tabor, the traditional Mount of the Transfiguration, with its steep sides covered with brushwood still sheltering wild animals, and its curiously flat

top; Olivet, one of the hills that "stand about Jerusalem"; Ebal and Gerizim, from whose summits the blessings and curses could plainly be heard by Israel trembling in the beautiful valley below.

Palestine lies in the sub-tropical zone. The extraordinary differences in altitude and surface characteristics (it varies from 1,300 feet below the sea level to 9,000 feet above it) must greatly affect the climatic conditions and the temperament of the people. The average summer temperature is from 80°–90°, occasionally rising to 100°; we complain long before it reaches that point, however. The heat is never unbearable (except in the low-lying lands of the Jordan Valley, where the thermometer will register as much as 118°, and the ground opens in deep cracks, till the very natives themselves move their tents to higher places). In an ordinary way the stone houses are well adapted to keep out the heat. The rainfall is from 28 inches to 32 inches; snow falls frequently, but not every year: 12° of frost strikes us as being very severe. The rainy season is from the end of November to the end of February. "The former rains" begin at the end of October, "the latter rains" fall in March and April. January is cold and stormy, May and October are "sirocco" months, to be avoided by newcomers and travellers; in August the rising of the Nile brings heavy dews at night, refreshing the land when it is weary. Barley and wheat are sown in December and reaped from April to June; and millet, sesame, figs, grapes, melons, etc., from August to October. The chief grain fields are the Plains of Esdraelon and Sharon, some districts around Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron, and, of course, the rich lands east of Jordan. The winds of Palestine are often referred to in the Bible. The south and west winds are refreshing ones, the north wind is a storm-bringer; the east wind, or sirocco (the people use the Italian word derived in the first place from their own "sharkiyeh," eastern), is a malicious wind—piercingly cold in winter, and dry and heavy in summer. The heat of Palestine is largely sun-heat; even on the hottest days (not sirocco) there is a touch of chill in the shade, and at sunset a treacherous coolness sets in, which may bring on fever if one is careless.

There are many springs in Palestine, and these, with the gracious dews, partly atone for the lack of rain. Water is stored in rock-hewn cisterns; when these run dry at the end of a long summer following upon a poor rainy season, fever and sickness crop

up everywhere. In spite of this, nothing would induce the Turkish Government to tackle the question of the water supply, by no means an impossible one to solve, nor would it let anyone else do so. Water and fuel are the two chief problems of life in the Holy Land. We discuss every fraction of the rainfall with all the earnestness it deserves, for on it, indeed, depend both health and food for the coming year; and the disastrous taxation on trees under Turkish rule, and their wholesale destruction, either for firewood or to escape the tax, have sensibly lessened the rainfall. The scarcity of wood, the difficulty of bringing it from long distances in a country where roads are few and generally bad, and the rise in prices consequent on these hard conditions, made this one of the gravest anxieties for the future just before the war; though Cardiff coal was obtainable latterly, it cost at least 80 fr. a ton, or £3 5*s*. All these things, taken in conjunction with a population rapidly increasing through immigration, for which no provision was made by the Government, made the question of one's daily bread an anxious one.

Despite the dead hand of Turkey on her, the fertility of Palestine is as amazing as it is wonderful. Everything grows out in the open, and, as it seems to us, under conditions that ought to prevent any self-respecting vegetable life from attaining maturity. The land, after yielding one crop will be scratched up (for the primitive native plough does little more than disturb the surface), and planted again almost immediately; on the hillsides every little patch of soil amongst the rocks will be sown or planted, and with marked effect. Palestinian vegetables would demoralize an English market; we have cauliflowers that measure at least a foot across, and water-melons hardly to be spanned by a grown person's arms; to this day the grapes of Eshcol grow in clusters from three to four feet in length. We have in their seasons grapes, apricots, nectarines, plums, damsons, quince, mulberries, figs, lemons, oranges, prickly pear, pomegranates, and many kinds of nuts; in the season a rottl of grapes (6 lbs.) costs about 10*d*. (old residents consider the price excessive), and for a trifling present you may go into a vineyard and eat as many grapes and figs as you can manage.

And what of the flowers? From the semi-tropical vegetation of the Jordan Valley to the English flowers cherished in gardens, practically everything seems to flourish. The wild flowers in spring are wonderful, especially perhaps in Galilee. We have

anemones, scarlet, white, mauve and pink (many people believe that they are "the lilies of the field" before whose glory that of Solomon paled), hyacinths, ranunculus, narcissus, honeysuckle, daisies, buttercups, cistus, cyclamen, irises, black arums, broom, mandrake, oleander, rose and white, thrift, hyssop, orchids, asphodel, acanthus, vetches of many kinds, unscented violets, roses, speedwell—all these, and many more whose names elude me now, grow wild. Besides these, which we may term native to the land, most English flowers flourish in gardens with a little care: cowslips, daffodils, primroses, sweet peas, pansies (we had some that shot up nine inches in height), violets, parma, white and blue, tuberoses, chrysanthemums, asters, jasmine, heliotrope (this grew like a tree, at least ten feet high), begonias, geraniums, carnations, hollyhocks, pelargoniums; the list becomes unduly long, but it is not complete. When you have lived in Palestine and marked its lavish beauty and fertility under the most harrowing ill treatment as well as neglect, you realize that such expressions as "the glory of Lebanon," "the excellency of Carmel and Sharon," and "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose," are no lovely fancy of the poet, no delusion of the over-fervid patriot, but the sober, literal truth. Palestine is still a land of corn and wine. We see the surface richness of her, but what of the treasures hidden within her—"the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the lasting hills"? Moses assured the Israelites that it was "a good land." "Thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." But who has looked for it? About four years ago a Syrian found that his small plot of ground contained oil; he used it surreptitiously, and found it of excellent quality, but he kept the secret, for he knew what would happen if the Government got wind of his discovery.

We said at the beginning that the history of a country was largely determined by its geographical conditions. A glance at the history of Palestine bears out this statement in a very definite way. It is a tangled narrative of changes and conquests, the early records being vague and unsatisfactory in the main, though certain periods and facts stand out with some distinctness against the shifting background of uncertainties. Excavations in Palestine reveal traces of prehistoric dwellers in caves, whose implements were fashioned from bone; the skulls and bones of these people are akin in some instances to the modern inhabitants. As a land of

many tribes and petty kings, with their perpetual wars and ineffective treaties, each one striving to get the upper hand, it is difficult to form any distinct historical idea of it from the confusion of battle ever waging amongst these tribes; and when out of the vagueness of these shifting periods appear the Hyksos, the invaders of Egypt, they present a welcome sharpness of outline. The hand of Egypt lay heavy upon Palestine for many years, some of the kings of the land even being appointed by Pharaoh, to whom they appealed for help, vindication, or redress in their constant internecine wars. Seti I led an expedition into Palestine; but the power of the Hittites (from Northern Syria and Mespotamia) was gradually building itself up in the land, and Rameses II, in a treaty with them, renounced all the Egyptian holding in Palestine. Egyptian supremacy revived under Rameses III, but fifty years later the Assyrians, under Tiglath-Pileser, swept away in their rapid encroachment the landmarks of both Egyptian and Hittite suzerainty.

We find a supreme interest, of course, in those periods immediately concerned with the Bible. Palestine, divided into a series of small kingdoms ever at variance, was in a state which rendered it peculiarly open to foreign aggression; and amongst those petty tribal kingdoms the Hebrew invaders out of Egypt made a firm place for themselves, aided, no doubt, by that learning of the Egyptians which they brought with them in the formation of an ordered communal life. They took deep root and spread themselves out, and in the interval between their entry under Joshua and the day of the Messiah Whom they rejected, theirs was the history of the land. It is strange that, despite a mass of oral tradition and the work of scribes, the political records of the Jewish monarchy are yet so slight. In reading the books of the Old Testament which are concerned with the events of those years, and taking them merely as historical records of the kingdoms, we are struck by the prominence given to the personal character and life of the king, and the correspondingly scanty attention paid to the country and its foreign policy and relations. We are told, for instance, of Solomon's fleet and his riches gathered by it from all lands, but we are given no details of his policy, home or foreign, which seems to have been governed largely by a commercial spirit. The records of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are chiefly the records of the life and deeds, good or bad, of each king, and of the never-ending struggle between the hierarchy and the monarch. The kingdoms

drew to their mournful and dishonoured close, the kings went into exile, and the people were dispersed, never again to be gathered into one fold. "Other lords have had rule over us," was the prophet's lament; the people who had rejected every chance over and over again were left to struggle as they might against the overwhelming pressure of outside forces.

For as the strength of Israel, religious and political, waned, other influences increased in Palestine—Babylonian, Chaldean, Assyrian. Warfare decimated the population, and the conquerors brought in their own countrymen to fill the empty places. The social, religious, and national life of the Jews was broken up; an exhausted people lay at the foot of an iron conqueror. A number of the Jews returned to Palestine some fifty years after the Great Dispersion under the favour of Cyrus, but they "came back not to a kingdom, but to a *medineh*, or district (and city) of the Persian Empire."[1] Palestine remained practically a Persian province until the downfall of that empire after its defeat by Alexander the Great. After his death the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Selucidæ in Northern Syria contended for the possession of Palestine, and a time of great misery followed for the Jews, culminating in the plunder of the Temple by Antiochus IV. His cruel persecution goaded the Jews into rising, and the priestly family of the Asmonean Mattathias led the revolt, which enjoyed a brief success. Judas Maccabæus, the son of Mattathias, founded the Asmonean Dynasty, which lasted until Herod the great, an Idumean (Edomite) by nationality and Roman Prefect of Syria, murdered Antigonous, and made himself King of the Jews. Palestine enjoyed a fitful prosperity under Herod, the ruins of whose magnificent buildings yet adorn the land; but at the death of his son Archelaus the land passed into Roman holding.

The New Testament story embraces much of that of the Roman occupation of Palestine; Roman influence was very strong; the Gospels are stamped with the image and superscription of Cæsar's supremacy; Roman laws, money, institutions, customs, officials, appear all through the sacred narrative. Greek influences, once also very strong, paled and dwindled before the stern onward march of the Romans, and we may trace the struggle between these two great Powers in the books of the Maccabees and of Josephus. Fire,

[1] *Jerusalem*, George Adam Smith, Vol. I, p. 380.

sword, and persecution reduced the people to misery and despair, which their occasional maddened revolts only served to render more poignant, until the beneficent rule of Constantine the Great and the establishment of Christianity in some degree relieved them. Palestine remained a Roman province from the day when Pompey added her to the Imperial crown until the Arab conquest in 634; from that day she has been a Mohammedan possession. Some four centuries later began the Crusades—those vain, romantic, fascinating episodes in history whose glamour affects us even now; the Christian kingdom lasted just eighty-eight years ere it fell by its own hand, slain by the treachery and selfishness of the rulers whose faithfulness should have been as its shield and buckler. And yet it is amazing what an abiding impression that short-lived Christian occupation has left upon the land, in words scattered through the language, in buildings whose glorious ruins attest the skill and energy of the makers, in the occasional signs of Western blood and characteristics traceable to-day in the natives. Probably the strange force of their short tenure of Palestine lies in the fact that they came to her "not like most other invaders, because she was the road to somewhere else, but because she was herself, in their eyes the goal of all roads, the central and most blessed province of the world."[1] The incense of their devotion, so freely offered, lingers yet in Palestine, enriching her history beyond price, drawing East and West together through a common love, and absolving the memory of men—fierce, ruthless, and unstable as they were—who bore the cross-handled sword through the land. Eight Crusades at later periods strove to recover the land, but in vain; and in 1517 it fell into the hands of the Ottoman Turks under Selim I.

What is to be the future fate of Palestine? If her past is any guide to us in our attempt to solve the riddle of the future, we may well come to the conclusion that she can never belong to any one race or people after the absolute fashion of other lands. She is a road, a highway; she can be policed, controlled, kept safe and open, made beautiful, but she cannot become the absolute property of any one nation. She has been held longest by Turkey, whose people are the most mixed and least national of all races; but Turkey has been such a weak power latterly that it has held Palestine more or less under the will and by the grace of Europe.

[1] *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, George Adam Smith, p. 13.

A good many people consider that Palestine should pass to the Jews. But the Jews are now only a kindred, not a nation, for they are English, Spanish, Russian, German, Roumanian, Austrian, American, Polish, according to the place of birth or the exigencies of life. Which Power would be the predominating influence in a Jewish State? When we recall the enthusiastic loyalty of English Jews during the war—proving once again that they count themselves as truly English as any one of us—how can we suppose that they, any more than we, would enjoy being deprived of the honour and safety of British citizenship and summarily attached to a new State, nominally Jewish but virtually under, say, German control?

Many pious souls refer to Palestine as the Promised Land, overlooking the fact that the promise was coupled with very stringent conditions. Should we not rather think of it as the Land of Promise—an infinite promise not tied to any one race, but of eternal hopefulness and wide enough to include all races in a blessing that is peculiar to the land? Political considerations also make it impossible that Palestine should become an insular Jewish State. What would Islam everywhere say if the mosques at Hebron and Jerusalem and the Tomb of David were given over to the Jews? It is probable that neither England nor Russia could afford to disregard universal Mohammedan opinion on this point.

On the whole, every signpost seems to point to the one end, every argument to lead to the one conclusion, namely—that Palestine should be annexed to Egypt, and thus experience those benefits of English rule which she has so long desired. England alone would hold her on trust for the rest of the world—Christian, Jewish, Mohammedan; under her care Christian, Jew, and Moslem would worship in peace and safety; by her every religious and national prejudice would be respected. If France has Syria and Russia Constantinople, Palestine should fall naturally to Great Britain. Our present occupation of Egypt makes it, indeed, a necessity that we should guard Palestine also; for the desert between is no protection to either country, and if a Turkish army (which is generally destitute of every military necessity, except courage) can pass the desert with such comparative ease and celerity, what would not be possible to fully equipped and organized forces? English rule has long been the ardent desire of the Christians of Palestine, and latterly even the Moslems have openly cried out for it under the ever-increasing weight of Turkish oppression. About three

years ago deputations of Bedouin from beyond Jordan—wild creatures who usually avoid the stir of towns—kept on coming in to ask the Turkish Governor of Jerusalem when the English were coming to take the Holy City. The Pasha, considerably perturbed by this unexpected development, put them off with specious excuses; they were coming soon—letters took so long on the way—there was no answer yet from the English. Three times these untamed men of the desert came: then ceased, in bitter disappointment. Perhaps they thought England had failed them. What had started the idea no one ever knew. About the same time a rumour arose in the city that five English generals were coming by the evening train to take Jerusalem. Half the city flocked joyfully to the station, many of the Jews even went down to Jaffa to view the landing, and when no one arrived the disappointment was really intense. We may smile at the simplicity of these people, but never at the real desire for liberty, the real belief in England, that lay behind it. England is greatly trusted in Palestine, for the people now understand that all her institutions out there are wholly for their benefit, and mask no ugly political aim or greed; the common saying, "On the word of an Englishman it is true!" must make us proud each time we hear it. English prestige has suffered a temporary eclipse of late years, owing perhaps to a restrained line of policy that was misunderstood by those to whom power must be shown in concrete form, but it has never been destroyed. "On the word of an Englishman it is true!"

EGYPTIAN RECORDS ILLUSTRATIVE OF GENESIS XXXVI.

By Joseph Offord.

Much time has been bestowed upon the publication of fragments of Biblical manuscripts found in Egypt, containing portions of the Coptic versions, but as a rule these do not present any valuable variants of the text. In the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. XII, for 1916, M. Henri Munier edits some pages which have come from a Bible in the Sahidic dialect, and which

preserve parts of Genesis, chaps. xxxvi and xl. The first of these has not previously been published in Sahidic. These texts, however, are particularly interesting because of the spelling of the numerous proper names of persons and places. If they are compared with the Hebrew and the LXX it will be seen that the scribe carefully uses spelling which in the Greek repeats most correctly that in the Hebrew.

Among the names of tribes, or peoples, are some which are worth special notice, because they relate to words also to be found in Egyptian inscriptions concerning Palestine, or the territory between it and Egypt. These are Lotan, Hor (or the Horites), and the Aia. In the new-found Sahidic the scribe writes: (ⲛ̄)ⲗⲱⲧⲁⲛ: (ⲡⲉ)ⲭⲟⲣⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ, and ⲭⲟⲣⲣⲉⲓ: and ⲁⲓⲉ.[1] The references to these tribes in Egyptian records occur in a memorial discovered in 1900 by Mr. Garstang, of a personage named Khonsovkou, who lived under Usertasen III—also in texts that were found near the Sinai district at the ancient mines of Serabit el-Khadim, concerning officials there—and in the well known papyrus story of "The Adventures of Saneha."

The first recital speaks of an expedition sent from Egypt against the Land of the Sakimim, and the people of the Lotanu. These, the hieroglyph scribe says, resided in the Land of Monitu Sati, which, to the Egyptians, signified Nether Asia, or South Syria. The publication of this inscription supports Prof. Max Müller's suggestion that the name of a tribe in Saneha's papyrus, which had been read as Tanu should really be Lotanu. Saneha divides the Lotanu into two branches, the Lotan simple and the upper or higher Lotan. The inscription of Serabit el-Khadim, in the Sinai Peninsula, mentions a chief whom the texts say was brother to a prince of the Lotanu.

The papyrus and the Sinaitic and other texts mentioned, refer to one or other of the Lotan, Horites and Aiah, for Saneha speaks of the latter in his travels in what is termed the Middle Empire period of Egyptian history. In later times, however, as in the reign of Thotmes III, the Lotanu are referred to as dwelling in Palestine and Northern Syria. Whether this is merely because the Egyptian conquests extended farther into Asia, and they found as they progressed that the Lotanu inhabited a large part of Palestine,

[1] *Cf.* לוֹטָן and Λωτάν; חֹרִי (or חוּרִי) and Χορρεί or Χορρί; אַיָּה and Αϊέ.

or because under Egyptian pressure they had migrated from the Sinaitic and Beersheba districts away northward, we do not know.

Curiously, a similar change occurs in the emplacement of the Horite territory, a people whom the Egyptian records closely associated with Lotan, as does the Old Testament. Just as Saneha, when coming into contact with the Lotanu, meets also with the Aiah who, as Genesis tells us, was Lotan's nephew, so the early Egyptians associated the Lotanu and Horites as in contiguous territory, and up to the XVIIIth dynasty located them both in the Sinaitic region. But in the time of Wenamon's voyage to Byblos for cedarwood under Ramses XII, about 1100 B.C., he calls the Mediterranean, from about Carmel to Gebal, "The Sea of Hor." This would equate the Land of the Horites, at that date, practically with the Shephelah of Palestine. For, according to the annals of Seti I, there were still Horites between Ismailia and Canaan. Thus, he says, that proceeding from Zaru to Kanana, that is from Djar or Zoar, the Egyptian border town on the Shihor, the freshwater canal or Nile branch close to the route of the Suez Canal (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1913, p. 148 *seq.*), he crossed Horite territory. Consequently, at this time, Horites were scattered about from the south-west corner of the Sinaitic Peninsula as far as Gaza, whilst in earlier times, about 2000 B.C., as far as Egyptian information goes, these Asiatic tribes may have lived in the oases and wadis of South Palestine and Sinai only. It is very valuable to know that two names of Asiatic peoples, who the Egyptians say were their neighbours before their New Empire era, should be found allied in mention in Genesis; and that the Egyptians then geographically placed Lotan not far from where the Old Testament situated Seir, of whom it says Lotan was grandson. Further, it is noteworthy that a little later a papyrus should associate these tribes with the Aiah, a third Biblical name occurring in connection with the others, and placed by the Hebrew writer in a region between Palestine and Egypt.[1]

[1] For Asiatics known to the Egyptians, see four articles in *Bessarione*, for 1901, by M. Ballerini, "Le Tribu Nomadi delle Palestina e del Sinai Secondo le Memorie dell Egito Antico." For the Avith of Gen. xxxvi 35, the Coptic reads ⲅⲁⲓⲑⲉⲙ; this points to the reading Gittaim; see Vaticanus, Γεθαίμ, and *Encyclopaedia Biblica, s.v.*; and for Samlah, *cf.* ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲗⲁⲕ.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1916, p. 196.)

XXVI. *Phoenician and the Old Testament.*

Among a number of Carthaginian, Punic, inscriptions in the Louvre which have until now remained inedited, is one, No. A.O. 5190, which, although only two legible words (חרש ארנת) remain, is of interest to Hebrew scholars. The person recorded was a maker of coffins, or sarcophagi; the word is the plural of the feminine word *arōn* (ארן) which had already been noticed as probably occurring in another mutilated Punic text edited by Renan.

The Sidonian inscription of Prince Tabnith also selects it to specify his splendid granite sarcophagus, which had once belonged to an Egyptian officer, and having been stolen from some tomb up the Nile, was transported to Phoenicia. The word is also found upon a small Carthaginian ossuary, published by Père Delattre, see *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Semitique*, No. 521.

As in Tabnith's case, this is the word employed in Genesis l, 26, for Joseph's Egyptian-made coffin; and it is used for the Ark of the Covenant, and of the Testimony. The Aramaic texts have the same words for sarcophagi, which shows, in conjunction with the Punic ones, the close connection of these dialects with Biblical Hebrew.

It is not merely in their vocabularies that the connection between the Hebrew and Phoenician peoples and languages is demonstrated, but also by the similarities of thought and the manner of expressing in writing their identical sentiments. A convincing series of instances of this character may be cited from the Book of Job and a single Phoenician inscription: that engraved upon the sarcophagus of the Zidonian king Eshmunazar (for the name *cf.* Eleazar).

This prince died in his youth, and his tomb memorial plaintively reads: "I was rapt away before my time" (נגזלת בל עתי); the

idea being identical with the words "cut down out of time," of Job xxii, 16. We may compare also the parallel expression of Ecclesiastes vii, 17: "Wherefore die before thy time?"

Eshmunazar, in his inscription, threatens tomb plunderers with a very elaborate series of curses. Among these one foretells: "They shall not have a root downward nor a fruit upward." This is a sentence entirely reminiscent of Job's expression: "From beneath his roots shall be dried up, and from above shall his branch be cut off" (xviii, 16). There may have been a common Semitic formula of this kind; see the words of Isaiah xxxvii, 31: "Judah shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward," and Amos ii, 9: "I destroyed her fruit from above, her root from beneath."

Job iii, 14, refers to kings who, having the means to do so, "build desolate places (? tombs) for themselves." That means graves concealed in desert sites, such as the "Valley of the Tombs of the Kings," near Thebes; and Eshmunazar might have been quoting Job to judge from the words his scribe uses: "I lie in this grave in the place I have built."

The Phoenician writer also three times calls his king's last resting place his "bed." So we read that Asa "slept with his fathers in his own sepulchre, in the *bed* filled with sweet spices." See also Isaiah lvii, 2, and Ezekiel xxxii, 25.

The funerary inscription of Tabnith, another Zidonian king, contains a phrase which is again repeated in Eshmunazar's text, viz., "under the sun." It appears also in Ecclesiastes i, 3, etc. Tabnith's memorial also speaks of the desecration of tombs as being the "abomination of Ashtart the goddess," a term identical with that used in Deut. vii, 15, and xvii, 1.[1]

There is a third inscription commemorating a king of Sidon named Bod Astart, and in it there are three words identical with Old Testament Hebrew. The text calls him a Sidon "Prince" (שר), the last word being that used in Isaiah xxiii, 8, for the Tyrian merchant princes. In speaking of the Phoenician god Eshmun, the Bod Astart inscription styles that deity שרקד, "a holy prince" (שר קדש), which is the title given to the chief of the Sanctuary in Isaiah xliii, 28, and 1 Chron. xxiv, 5. Finally, the inscription qualifies Sidon as maritime (ים), quite in the same way as does Isaiah in chapter xxiii, 4, where the same word points to her sea power, or prosperity as a port. For an article explaining from a Punic

[1] Eshmunazar's mother was "priestess of Ashtoreth."

inscription the missing Hebrew word in 1 Kings vi, 17, and the correct amplification in the LXX, see "Le Mois Intercalaire du calendrier Punique," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1916, p. 55; by E. Berliner; see note XXXII, below.

XXVII. *The Name Chuza.*

A short time ago, in the *Mélanges* of the Faculté Orientale of the University of St. Joseph at Beyrouth, a description was given of an old inscription in Estrangelo Syriac, first seen by any modern scholar at Orfa. The text refers to a certain Quaimī, daughter of Arku, whose parent was Abdallat, son of Kuza ܚܘܙܐ ܒܪ ܥܒܕܠܐ. This name Kuza is identical with that of Chuza, or χουζα; the Epitropos of Herod, spoken of in Luke viii, 3. It evidently was a not uncommon name in Syria, because it has been found more than once as a Nabatean title, כוזא. See S. A. Cook's *Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 63. *Cf.* also Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission en Arabie*, *Nabatean Texts*, No. 21. In the new edition of *Inscriptions from Petra*, edited by Dr. Dalman, No. 84, (כו)זא is restored, doubtless correctly, in the last line.

XXVIII. *Jewish Communities in Egypt.*

In the *Bulletin of the Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* for 1915, Mr. C. C. Edgar edits several funerary inscriptions of Jewish personages, which were found in excavating for the Cairo drainage conduit at Demerdash, near Matarieh, and not far from Heliopolis. The presence of Jewish residents at or near this site is of interest, because, in the non-canonical book, the "Gospel of the Infancy," it is stated that the Holy Family stayed at Matarieh when they fled to Egypt. Probably, if this statement was true, they halted there because there was a Jewish quarter, and the newly-found texts certainly corroborate that view. It should be remembered, too, that Matarieh is not very distant from Tell el-Yahoudieh, a well known Jewish settlement in the Southern Delta.

The names, which are undoubtedly Jewish ones, are Sabbataios (Σαββαταῖος), Isaac (Εἰσάχι[ο]ς), and Joseph (Ἰώσηφος). It is possible that these tombstones came from a cemetery specially belonging to the Jews, because on one was a rather lengthy inscription of a person bearing the Egyptian name of Paous, lamenting that he was buried among foreigners. The date of these texts is somewhat uncertain, as the words that would have disclosed it are partly illegible.

Two bear a duplicate date, a system in vogue under Cleopatra VII. The forms of the letters point to the first century before, or the first of, our Era.

This fresh proof of the frequent occurrence of Jewish communities in Egypt shortly before our Era, viewed in connection with the fact that the Holy Family fled thereto when in danger in Judea, as if it were a place where Jehovah could still be worshipped, may throw an interesting light upon the question discussed in the articles upon "The Elephantine Papyri as Illustrative of the Old Testament," as to the legitimacy of the Temple of Yao at Yeb.[1] That the papyri tend to show (indirectly) that the stricter Jews at Jerusalem looked upon the Elephantine Altar as improper, does not prove that it really was so. It should be borne in mind that Ezra's second temple was not a complete replica of Solomon's, as his was of the Tabernacle, with their sacred contents. For, in the second Temple, the Ark, the Mercy Seat and the Cherubim were wanting, so, therefore, the Shekinah was also absent—the symbol of Jehovah's presence. The Ark, also being wanting, prevented the rites of the "Great Day of Atonement" from being adequately performed. No blood could be sprinkled upon the Mercy Seat, and thus no complete annual propitiation for priests and people could be made to render the imperfect ceremonies enacted during the previous year acceptable. So the rending of the temple veil did not expose the holy relics to wanton gaze. It tore from top to bottom because the new "Offering" descended from on high, whilst the sacrificial savours had ascended from earth towards heaven.

Jehovah did not "dwell" in the Second Temple, and consequently to erect other shrines for similar imperfect worships, as at Onion, in the Egyptian Delta, and Yeb upon the "Border of Egypt," may not have been a misdemeanour.[2]

The Jerusalem priests, because of the emoluments of their temple ritual, may have, and did, contend that Jerusalem was still, with its inferiorly furnished temple, the only place whereat due worship to Jehovah could be made. The Elephantine documents point to their so acting, but that does not prove that their contention was correct.

By the time of the completion of the Old Testament (which coincides with the creation of the Jewish colony at Yeb), a change

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1915, pp. 80 and 144.

[2] See Hosea xi, 1: "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

in what may be termed the nationality of Jehovah was well-nigh due. He had become the God of the Jews beyond Palestine. Malachi says (i, 11) even more than this: "From sunrise to sunset my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place shall incense be offered in my name, and a pure offering. For my name shall be great among the heathen." As early as Amos's time it was written that Jehovah had not only brought Israel out of Egypt; but He also had led the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir.

Still, the Elephantine people were wrongfully mixing up other gods with Yao, and, considering the evidence which shows that many of their number were Samaritans, their conduct seems to be distinctly alluded to in the Old Testament, and is certainly not contradictory thereto.

In 2 Kings xvii, 32 and 41, we read that a certain Samaritan priest returned to Bethel, the place whose name is that of one of the extra divinities at Yeb, and taught the people there to fear Jehovah (יהוה): "So they praised the Lord and served their own gods"; and, again: "So those nations feared the Lord and served their graven images." This mixed cult the author of Kings absolutely condemns; and so, apart from any human jealousy, the Jerusalem priests were justified in looking very askance at the Elephantine petition to re-erect their demolished Altar shrine there.[1]

XXIX. *A Jewish Colony in the Fayoum.*

Among the great number of papyri discovered at Tebtunis in Egypt about ten years ago were two concerning a village named Σαμάρεια. One name of a person concerned in the documents had a very Hebrew look, and it was hoped that as the mass of manuscripts were unrolled and deciphered, evidence might be found that this site was a Jewish settlement. Dr. Bernard Grenfell, of Queen's College, Oxford, who is now preparing for publication the third volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri*, mentioned at the Annual Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund that he was editing other papyri from this Samaria, deciding definitely that residents there were Jews.

[1] Genesis xxxi, 48, gives a sacred character or shrine-sentiment to a heap or mound (cairn); so the Yeb temple was a "mound," "shrine," אגורא. In verse 47 Laban uses the Aramaic words, Jacob the Hebrew. In the Rabbinic Targum a heathen altar was אגור, Jegar Sahadath, "a heap or mound."

He has kindly let me know, so that I may mention it in these notes, that one of the documents is a contract of loan upon mortgage dated 182 B.C. The parties describe themselves as Jews and bear such names as Sostratus and Apollonius. Another papyrus enumerates the villagers who were sheep-owners, and these bear the names, among others, of Dositheus Sambathaeus, and Ἰακοῦβις (Jacob). A third manuscript concerns persons named Theagenes, Hezekiah (Ἐζεκίας), and Theodosius.

XXX. *A Jewish Sarcophagus.*

In the August number of the *Revue Archéologique* M. Franz Cumont publishes an article, "Un fragment de Sarcophage Judeo-Paien," which is based on a relief found upon part of a sarcophagus discovered at Rome many years ago.

The personages and scenes sculptured are with one exception entirely pagan, consisting of figures of the seasons, and winged Victories, also a youth executing a Bacchic dance. The sole exception is that two of the Victories hold up a medallion upon which is carved the Hebrew 7-branched candlestick.

M. Cumont by a learned argument seeks to connect the tableau with the advanced views of some not very strict Jew, who associated the symbolism and doctrines of the Old Testament with the Dionysiac mythology, or with the cult of Sabazios. He mentions that in Hellenistic times there was some confusion between Iovem Sabazium and Iahve Sabaoth. He considers the allegorical meaning of the reliefs to be that the deceased had, by a just life, gained a victory over death. The figures of the seasons therefore indicate the resurrection, because of the gods of vegetation bringing the dormant seed to fruition; whilst the candlestick represents the "6 planets" and the sun, and is thus symbolic of the eternal illumination of the stars. In this connexion he quotes Daniel xii, 3: "they shall shine as the stars for ever." There is even an instance of the candlestick symbol having ACTHP graven beside it, in which M. Cumont detects a modification of the Hebrew Esther, quoting inscriptions such as *Claudia Aster Hierosolymitana captiva.* He associates the long funerary inscription of the Jewish lady Regina, or Milcah, from the Jews' cemetery near Rome (published in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1916, p. 146), which speaks of her renewing her life and awaking to the light.

The argument is very ingenious and convincing, unless the sarcophagus was originally made for a pagan, whose portrait would have been placed in the medallion; and being disposed of for a Jew's burial the candlestick emblem was inserted instead.

XXXI. *Some Hebrew Patriarch Names in Babylonia.*

Père Scheil has now published a Babylonian cylinder-seal of the era of Agade, of about Naram Sin's period, bearing as a personal name that of Išre-il, or Išre-el.[1] This name, which the LXX, writing of ישראל, Ἰσραήλ, tell us was given because of Jacob's successful wrestling with God, was one that was used in the Babylonian onomasticon long before, as was that of Abraham at about the same date as his own. This is not now surprising, because upon Manishtusu's obelisk we have such names in cuneiform script as Išlup-il and Išmâ-il or Išmâ-el, whilst upon a text from Sippara we find Iš-mi-i-lum. The same coincidence occurs in the case of several other names in the Abrahamic genealogy: Eber being analagous to E-bi-r-um, a name of Hammurapi's period, whilst Peleg is similar to Palga, an Akkadian title.

But there is reason to think that this Palga was a deity's name, for there was probably a Syrian god Peleg, or Palak. The Hittite Rameses treaty speaks of a Souken, or Sutech, of a place to the south, that would be towards Palestine from the Hittite country, called Paliga, or Palika.[2] This would be a בעל פלך, because the numerous Baals of Syria were grouped as Sutechs by the Egyptians. The reason for this we do not yet know, but the curious composite animal of Set, or Sutech, was the determinative for Baal, transliterated in Egyptian as Bal. He was recognised as being a Semitic god, and had a chapel at Memphis, the city where so many foreigners and their deities were permitted. This Baal appears often in the annals of Pharaonic wars in Syria, as at the temple of

[1] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1916, p. 6. *Recueil de Travaux*, XXII, 1900, p. 55. In a contract from the country of Khana, *P.S.B.A.*, XXI, p. 23, Prof. Sayce gives a royal name, "Isarlim, or Israel, where the vowel of אל is lost." A name, Ishi-Shadû-rabû. "O Shadu, raise (me) up," is an expression identical with Psalms cxlv, 14, and cxlvii, 6.

[2] The Palega of the Egyptian recension of the Hittite Alliance may be read Parga, as *l* and *r* are similar in Egyptian. The Hittite version from Boghaz Keui may decide the question. See the city Φάλιγα, which Isidore of Charax cites near Circensium.

Medinet-Habou. M. Daressy shows from these that the thunder-clap in the sky was considered his manifestation: it was a sound which the Egyptian armies in Syria would have often heard above the mountain peaks of that region.

The Hittites or their kinsmen seem to have sent colonists to Italy: thus Tarquin and Tarkondemos appear connected, and we find Palisce in Sicily.

The Rev. C. J. Ball has pointed out that Peleg can mean stream, Palgu, or Puluggu, being Assyrian for canal. If so, it would appear as if some of the Hebrew patriarchal names are related to Mesopotamian ones for a canal, a city, or a place: Serug being similar to Sarrugi, a city, and Harran to the district, or caravan routes junction place, Abraham journeyed from. Reu, "shepherd" (Gen. xi. 18), often appears as part of a theophoric name on the tablets.

Moses is said to have called his son Eliezer, because of the help God had given to him, but the same idea was expressed long before by a Babylonian parent who named his boy—though perhaps at priestly suggestion—Ili-ha-zi-ri, a name quoted by Prof. Ranke.[1] Moses was not likely to have copied a Babylonian name because of his Egyptian education, but his Semitic relationship caused him to conceive and express his devotion in similar phrase to that of his kinsmen by the Euphrates.

The occurrence of the name Israel in cuneiform may have some bearing upon the mention of this name upon the stele relating Menepthah's razzia into Palestine. It has been concluded he fought with relatives of the Biblical Israelites, but it is now possible that another sheikh and his people bore that name. The Aiah of Genesis and of the Egyptian records is the name of a tribe, and appears to be also that of a Babylonian deity, as Gad was, and, as we saw above, was Peleg.

XXXII. *Palestinian and Phoenician Month Names.*

In the *Revue d'Assyriologie* for 1916, M. Berliner has an article, noteworthy for Hebraists, upon the intercalary month in the Punic calendar, founded upon words to be read in the inscription discovered at Bir Bou Rekba, in North Africa. This text may be found given, rather imperfectly, in the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*,

[1] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1916, p. 9.

No. 942.[1] The inscription concerns the installation of certain deities in a shrine, and states that this function took place on the 17th of מיפע לפני. These words M. Berliner renders "Mopha anterieur," comparing the second one with the *lippenāi* (לִפְנֵי) of 1 Kings vi. 17, which in our Hebrew text apparently should have been followed by הַדְּבִיר, for the LXX has *καὶ τεσσεράκοντα πηχῶν ἦν ὁ ναὸς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐαβείρ*. The possibility of one day completing the list of the Phoenician months is interesting to Hebrew students because before the Exile (after which Babylonian month-names occur in the Old Testament) some of the Phoenician titles were used by the Jewish writers in Palestine, such as Ethanim, Ziv, and Bul.

The Punic month-name M. Berliner studies is Mopha. This name is not new to us, but the fact, which he proves, that it was used as a duplicate or intercalary month is novel. He says we cannot ascertain whether its place was that of the sixth or of the final month of the year, but there are indications of its position which he has, apparently, overlooked, M. Clermont-Ganneau having shown that Phaalot was the Punic sixth month, whilst a Phoenician inscription found at the Piraeus gives the sixth month as Marzekh.

The subject of the intercalary months among the Semites is at present very intricate because, whilst one supplementary month was added at short periods, the calendar still drifted away from accuracy with the solar year, and an additional month had to be inserted at longer intervals to rectify matters. The Babylonians for the more frequent service used a duplicate Adar, the final month of the year, and this is the only name we at present know the Jews gave to an extra month. For the longer interval month extra the Babylonians had a second Elul, which was the sixth month in their year.

It would appear from these facts that Mopha was the last month of the Phoenician year, because they, like the Babylonians their kinsmen, would duplicate the last month with Adar. Then, Phaalot being the ordinary sixth month equivalent in the calendar to the Babylonian Elul, it would sometimes need to be duplicated. This may account for a sixth Phoenician month named Marzekh having been recorded, it being the name for the occasional extra sixth month. In connexion with this it is interesting that at Athens

[1] For M. Clermont-Ganneau's latest remarks upon the inscription see *Annuaire de l'École Pratiques des Hautes Études*, 1912–1913, p. 98.

the sixth month Ποσειδεών was chosen for the honour of intercalation.[1]

Dr. Haupt has shown that the word Adar is from Assyrian *Addar*, "threshing-floor" (circular), the threshing-ox being tied so as to tramp round and round. This month came towards the culmination of the harvest, thus its Sumerian name was *Iti-sa-ku-kut*, "grain harvest month." Intercalary times were, magically, always dangerous, so the second Adar was *Arkhu mâkhru ša Addari*, "The unlucky month of Adar." "The thirteenth extra zodiacal sign," says Haupt, "was the (croaking) raven, harbinger of misfortune." Precisely so, the five epagomenal days needed to render complete the Egyptian twelve-month year, were all unlucky ones. The Babylonian dangerous thirteenth month may be the cause of the persistent dread of having thirteen guests.[2]

Mr. E. W. Maunder has described how the importance of correctly timing the occasion for inserting the intercalary months is partly the origin of the frequent occurrence upon Babylonian "boundary-stones" and cylinders of the lunar crescent on its back, and the twin stars, Castor and Pollux. When the new moon was seen setting with the twins, it was known that the spring equinox month was begun. If it then set upon the first or second day, the year should have but twelve months. If it did not so set until the third day then it must contain thirteen months.

[1] M. Berliner mentions that it was sometimes called Ἀδριανιών, which may be a reminiscence of Adar.

[2] See F. W. Read, "Egyptian Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days," *Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1916, p. 61 *seq.*

(*To be continued.*)

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ף	p
ה	h	פ ף	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ ך	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ظ	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Annual General Meeting.

The Fifty-second Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held on Thursday, June 21st. For several reasons, which will be readily understood, it was for business purposes only, and the usual address was not delivered. The Chairman gave a brief statement of the year's work, and also referred to the efforts of the Relief Fund for Syria and Palestine to ameliorate the condition of the refugees. Prof. Hull made an interesting suggestion touching the presence of alabaster in Mesopotamia. The Hon. Secretary, while having to regret the losses sustained by the Society during the year through the death of members, was able to record that new members had joined and that the prospects for the future were hopeful. The Treasurer's Statement was satisfactory; and a reserve fund was being built up, with which to start practical excavating work again in Palestine at the earliest opportunity. Among other items of interest, the Hon. Secretary mentioned that a small legacy had been left to the Society by the late Rev. Arthur Carr, a former member of the Executive Committee. A fuller account of the proceedings is given below, pp. 115–119.

Of the news from Palestine and Syria, the greater part refers to the grievous internal conditions and the sufferings of all classes of the population. The entry of the United States into the war has closed the main channel of communication, for few, if any, letters

have been coming viâ Switzerland. The State-controlled papers, although heavily censored, give some information, to those who read between the lines, of the prevailing terrorism and oppression. The growing need of both foodstuffs and beasts of burden by the enemy has pressed hard upon the people, who have been forced to receive for the sale paper money which, it is said, has fallen to one-fourth of its original value. Sad stories of expulsion and death from starvation and blackguardism continue to come in; and new pages of tragedy are being added to the history of a land which, if it has had bitter experiences of suffering in the past, has also had good grounds for faith in a sure judgement upon all wrong-doing.

Meanwhile, the question of the future of Palestine and Syria is being eagerly discussed, and, as reference has been made in other issues of the *Q.S.* to the aims of the Zionists, we quote on this occasion from a letter which has suggestions to make of another sort (p. 107). We cannot enter upon any discussion of the various proposals touching Palestine, but we may bring before the notice of our readers the fact that the work of the P.E.F. has consistently been to throw light upon the entire conditions in Palestine in ancient, mediaeval, and modern times. The information which is thus being collected contributes to a "scientific" knowledge of the land, and, like the arduous "staff-work" before a battle or a campaign, is indispensable if ideals are to have any chance of success.

It is still necessary to remind our readers of the claims of the P.E.F. to continued and increased support. In a variety of ways, into which it is unnecessary to enter now, a better knowledge of the "Bible Lands" contributes directly and indirectly to the improvement of educational methods, to the sounder knowledge of religious development, and to a clearer conception of the course of historical progress in the past. But, while emphasizing our claims, we have to point out that owing to the increased cost of paper and of printing, we are suffering in common with all other journals and periodicals of the same class as the *Q.S.* It is necessary, temporarily, either to increase the price of the journal or to effect some reduction of size, and of the alternatives, the latter has seemed the better.

Hence certain changes have been made to this end, although it may be pointed out that the quantity of material will not be reduced in proportion to the reduced number of pages. Much as we regret to be obliged to economize in this way, readers, we are sure, will quite understand the necessity. And we may seize the opportunity to add that, in spite of this economy thus forced upon us by circumstances arising out of the war, we are very glad, not merely to endure other inconveniences (on which see the January *Q.S.*, p. 1), but also to find room for that now very familiar appeal which may be seen at the end of this copy for all and sundry to mark and learn, etc.

Mr. J. G. Bartholomew, of Edinburgh, sends us a copy of his letter in *The Times* of April 5, on "Safeguards for the Future of the Holy Land." He asks: "Could it not be internationalized—set apart as a *terra sancta* for the nations of Christendom? It might be kept as an international reserve, in which all that is best and most representative of Biblical history would be preserved as far as possible in its original form, even to reviving its early social life in special areas, such as Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. This would make it a place of pilgrimage of real living interest which would attract students and tourists from all parts of the world. If the city of Jerusalem could be restored to its conditions of life in ancient times, with camels and asses as a means of communication, instead of motor omnibuses and electric cars; if the Temple could be rebuilt under the auspices of all Christian Churches to represent Christianity in its widest development, the Eastern as well as the Western Church, the Nonconformist as well as the Anglican, surely this would be something worth attempting. But above all things, if we take over the country, we must safeguard it from the uncontrolled enterprise of the hotel speculator. It would be terrible to contemplate a great modern hotel on the top of the Mount of Olives or in the Garden of Gethsemane. They should be preserved as in the time of Christ. Of course modern hotel accommodation and travel conveniences would be necessary, but they could be kept apart in certain restricted areas. American bars, cafés, tourist shops, and electric lighting would be quite out of place in the 'Street of David,' but there might be old-world taverns which would supply wine and bread, fish, or a roast kid, to satisfy the

modern pilgrim and help him somewhat to realize the life of the ancient Jews. In these days of rapid transformation one feels that some effort should be made to preserve the most interesting relics of the past, and this seems a great opportunity for realizing the re-birth of the Holy Land."

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. The year 1915, being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so

arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s.* Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s.*

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged

by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1916 is published in the Annual Report now issued.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Please note that the Library and Museum will be closed to the public from Saturday, July 21st, to Monday, August 6th, inclusive.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology: Vol. XXXIX, 3, 4: Notes on Babylonian Chronology and Gen. xiv, by Dr. T. G. Pinches.

The Near East: A weekly review of Oriental Politics, Literature, Finance and Commerce. Letters from special correspondents in Palestine and Syria; correspondence on the Future of Palestine by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Lieut.-Com. Trumper, etc.; Archaeological Notes, by Joseph Offord. April 6th: The Campaign in Palestine, by E. W. G. M.

Studies, June, 1917: Bagdad under the Arabs, by Edmund Power; etc.

The Expository Times.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVI, 1916: Ancient Stories of a Great Flood, by Sir J. G. Frazer; etc., etc.

Bible Lands: Quarterly Paper of the Jerusalem and the East Mission, No. 71.

Palestine: The Organ of the British Palestine Committee.

The Zionist Review: The Organ of the English Zionist Federation, Vol. I, No. 1; and pamphlets by H. Sacher and S. Tolkowsky.

Report of the Public Library Museum and Art Gallery of South Australia for 1915–16.

Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1917: *Ai* or *The City?* Josh. viii, 12, 16, by Prof. Max L. Margolis.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXVIII, 1.

The Biblical World.

The Homiletic Review.

Art and Archaeology: The Seven Wonders of the World, by E. J. Banks; Lights of Yesterday and To-day, by R. E. Plimpton and G. T. Hadley.

Revue Biblique, Jan. and April, 1917: The Marquis de Vogüe, by R. P. Lagrange; A Greek Inscription from the Island of Ruad in honour of Julius Quadratus, by E. Michon; Greek Inscriptions from the Island of Castellorizo, by M. Michelier; etc.

See further below, pp. 143–146.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

Presented by Mrs. Ross Scott :—

The Land of Gilead, by Lawrence Oliphant.

A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, by A. E. Weigall.

An Egyptian Oasis, by H. J. Ll. Beadnell.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, kindly write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in

the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The Fifty-second Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Library of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, on Thursday, June 21st. The Meeting was held for business purposes only. There was a larger attendance on this occasion than at the Meeting last year; and amongst those present were Dr. L. W. King, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. J. D. Crace, Hon. Secretary, Mr. Walter Morrison, Hon. Treasurer, Prof. A. C. Dickie, Rev. Canon Dalton, K.C.V.O., Prof. Edward Hull, Mr. James Melrose, Sir Edwin Pears, and Colonel Fellows. Letters of regret for non-attendance were received from Sir George Adam Smith, Principal of Aberdeen University, the Dean of Westminster, Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., Dr. Masterman, and others.

On the motion of Sir Edwin Pears, seconded by Canon Dalton, the chair was taken by Dr. King.

After the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting had been read and confirmed, the Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report for 1916, expressed the great pleasure they all felt in seeing amongst them Mr. Crace, who had been prevented by illness from attending the Meeting last year. Since that time, however, he believed he was right in saying that Mr. Crace had not missed a single meeting of the Executive Committee; and his long connection with the Society, and his intimate knowledge of all its affairs, both past and present, were of the utmost value to the Committee, and to the Society in general. (Applause.) The main object of the foundation of the Society—an object which had been consistently pursued during the half-century of its existence—was the conducting of systematic and scientific research in Palestine itself. Naturally, the War had for the time put a complete stop to this side of their activities, and the cessation of archaeological work in the field had necessarily been reflected in the Society's scientific publications. For the years 1914–15 they had fortunately been able to publish a double Annual Volume, dealing with the survey of the "Desert of

the Wanderings," which had been completed shortly before the War. But the map that accompanied the survey, and also the new revised map of Western Palestine, which in happier times would have been already issued, were still withheld from publication for military reasons. The restriction on the sale of these and other maps was a very necessary one, though of course it entailed a financial loss to the Fund. There was, however, a brighter side to the picture. The Treasurer's Statement in the Annual Report for 1916 shewed a slight increase on the Society's income of the previous year—an increase which was doubly welcome as being a sign that Members had not lost faith in the future of the Palestine Exploration Fund. A reserve fund was being built up, with which to start work again in Palestine at the first opportunity; present expenses were kept down as rigidly as possible; and there were no debts against the Society. (Hear, hear.) Amongst the necessary expenses of the Fund, he was sure that they would all agree that one of the most necessary was the continued publication of the *Quarterly Statement*. The greatest credit was due to Mr. Cook for his able editorship of the journal in face of the present difficult conditions, and to him and Mr. Crace for the number of interesting papers they had got together during the past year, such as those contributed by Prof. Dickie, Prof. Macalister, Dr. Masterman, Mr. Offord, and others, which were referred to in greater detail in the Annual Report. The Committee had decided, after very careful consideration to make some reduction for the present in the size of the *Quarterly Statement*, with a view to answering, as far as they were able, the need for economy in paper which was urged upon the country by the Government. Mr. Crace had gone into the matter, and had been able to reduce the number of pages now occupied by advertisements and notices, which would lessen the size of the *Quarterly Statement* without taking too much from the substance of the journal itself.

In 1916, as they were all aware, Mr. Ovenden, the Assistant Secretary, had been called to the colours. During his absence they had secured the services of a lady who knew Palestine well, Miss Estelle Blyth. (Hear, hear.) She had filled, and was still filling, the post in a very able and efficient manner, and, he thought, had found the work very congenial.

The Society had sustained a great loss last year—a loss which was personal to them all—in the death of Colonel Sir Charles Watson, a few weeks before the last Annual Meeting. In his

account of their *Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land*, Sir Charles Watson had said that the War marked the end of a chapter. That was true, not only of the Fund, but of other societies, and indeed of most institutions in this country. They had no thought then of the further great change in their own work that was so near. They might look forward, however, in a spirit of confidence to the time when they would be able to resume their work in Palestine. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN then moved that the Report and Accounts for the year 1916, already printed and in the hands of subscribers, be received and adopted.

Mr. MORRISON, the Hon. Treasurer (who was received with applause), seconded the Motion. He said that there was great satisfaction in the thought that their work would go on as before, after the War. There was still very much to be done, many Tells to be excavated, in Palestine. They all knew that there was a great deal of suffering in the land at present; it was impossible to tell what would be its future. He had visited Palestine many years ago, even before the "fifty years' work" had been begun. Jerusalem then had ended at its gates but now there was a larger city outside the walls than within. He had explored the neighbourhood of Jerusalem in company with M. de Lesseps, who was then at work on the Suez Canal. It was curious to look back to those days, and to see how little we knew then about Palestine in comparison with what we know to-day. (Hear, hear.) He had great pleasure in seconding the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. D. CRACE, the Hon. Secretary, made a brief statement about the Membership of the Society during the past year. They had lost by death a Member of the Executive Committee, the Rev. Arthur Carr, who had always taken a great interest in their work, and had testified to this by leaving the Society a legacy of £50. They had also lost four Members of the General Committee, Lord Ashcombe, Sir Richard Martin, Dr. Daniel Bliss, of Beyrout, and the Rev. F. W. Birch, for many years Hon. Secretary for Manchester. It was always with very great regret that, from time to time, they had to record the loss of old Members, who were moved by the enthusiasm of the work in its early days, and had known it, in many cases, from its beginning. He was glad to say, however, that new Members had come, so that the prospect for the

future was hopeful. Though the Society had lost some subscribers through the difficulties of War-time, there were new ones to take their place; and the present list was a very good one and most satisfactory at such a time. (Hear, hear.) He desired to confirm the Chairman's commendation of the services of Miss Blyth, whose intelligent work had been of indispensable assistance to him personally since the loss of his eyesight.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving that the Rev. Prof. C. F. Burney, D.Litt., Oriel Professor at Oxford and Canon of Rochester Cathedral, be invited to join the General Committee, referred to his eminent services to Hebrew scholarship. In 1907 he had travelled in Southern Palestine, and he had devoted much time to the study of Hebrew place-names and their modern Arabic equivalents. For a forthcoming work he had prepared a series of maps of ancient Palestine, and had carefully weighed and verified the evidence for the identifications adopted. That, of course, was a side of Palestinian research to which the Fund had given considerable attention.

The motion was seconded by Prof. A. C. DICKIE, and was carried unanimously.

Colonel FELLOWS proposed that the Executive Committee, as constituted, be re-elected. The names of those who composed the Executive Committee were a guarantee of its usefulness and capability, and he had great pleasure in moving this Resolution.

Mr. MELROSE, who expressed his feeling of hopefulness for the future of the Society, seconded the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Professor HULL, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, said that he would like to take the Meeting a small *excursus* from Palestine to Mesopotamia. For so extending the range of their investigations there was a precedent in the Expedition to Sinai of 1883–4, which Lord Kitchener accompanied, and of which he himself had the honour to be placed in command. While recently re-reading Layard's *Nineveh*, he had been struck by the description of the alabaster casings adorning the walls and forming material for works of art. The great plain of Mesopotamia is covered by a thick deposit of mud, from which the inhabitants fashioned their bricks, generally sun-dried. His inference from the *provenance* of the alabaster, if correct, seemed to suggest that the region was once an inland lake, which may have been drained as

far back as the Pleistocene period, when Lebanon was covered with perennial snow, and gave origin to glaciers. It was a period of great elevation in Europe and Asia.

Sir EDWIN PEARS, in seconding the vote of thanks, alluded to the fine collection of cuneiform inscriptions preserved in the Philadelphia University Museum, which had thrown so much light on the earliest historical periods. He had heard much upon the subject during his recent visit to America.

In replying to the vote of thanks, the CHAIRMAN said that their attention had been drawn that afternoon to the very sad condition of things prevailing in Palestine, and he gave some further details from a letter he had received from the Organising Secretary of the Relief Fund for Syria and Palestine, which described the work that had already begun in a large refugees' camp behind the British lines. A strong Administrative Committee had been formed in Cairo, and Colonel Phillott, a distinguished British Consul, had been recently appointed Managing Director, in an honorary capacity, of relief work in the country itself. While they had all known that there was a great deal of distress in Palestine, they were hardly prepared, perhaps, to realize the work that had still to be faced. They could only hope that the full work of relief might soon be carried on throughout Syria and Palestine. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN and Prof. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1917, *p.* 80.)

Story about those who do not die in the Faith.

THERE is a maḳām in Ramleh called Mabrak en-Naḳra (nākra ناكرا = "a female camel"). This is called after the camel of Saidna 'Ali ibn A'alaim who used to fight against the infidels in Lydda and Ramleh. Close to this maḳām is a burial ground known as Naffāḍa

(نفاضة), *i.e.*, "place of trembling." It is so called because if anyone who dies "not in the right way" is buried there the burial place does not accept his body but casts it out to another cemetery, Christian or Jewish, according to circumstances.

The Muslims of Palestine believe that while many professing Jews and Christians are really followers of the Prophet at heart, many Muslims, who all their lives profess that faith, are really at heart Jews or Christians. This they say is proved, because when the grave of such a Muslim is opened they often find, not the shroud and *tekkiyeh* ("felt skull cap") in which the man was buried, but a hat, or a fez, or a costume which belonged to some Christian or Jew. They suppose the false Muslim's body was thrown out and the body of the secret, though real, Muslim substituted.

The cemetery Naffāḍa is so called because many such incidents had happened there. But all Moslem burial grounds eject the dead who do not die in the faith. (*See* previous story *Q.S.*, October, 1916.) There are in such grounds holy people, sheikhs or derwīshes or "people of God," and on their account there must be no mixing up with unbelievers against the "blowing" (نفخة) of the Day of Judgment. At that time the people of Muḥammad must be completely separated from all others.

The story of Sheikh Lulu.

(This makām is on the north side of Damascus as you begin to go up the hill.)

A sheikh from the family of Weḥēbeh in Jerusalem, who had a zāwiyeh (a place for sheikhs and derwīshes) at which many derwīshes lodged when they came to visit Nebi Mūsa, owned a black slave called Johar. Johar one day asked his lord to give him power (عهد) to become a sheikh. The sheikh answered: "Johar, the time is not yet come for you to take this power."

The slave kept silence, and served his lord obediently and patiently, hoping thus to give him satisfaction that he might some day receive "power." One day, during the week of the Pilgrimage of Nebi Mūsa, some derwīshes came to Jerusalem to visit Nebi Mūsa. The sheikh, when he found that they were his acquaintances, invited them to the zāwiyeh. They lodged with him and had supper. After supper they asked permission of the sheikh to

play on their instruments of music. When they began their music Johar was seized with desire to play with them, and having obtained his lord's permission he beat the cymbals. When the derwīshes saw him playing the cymbals and dancing, they knew that he had got a *sirr* ("secret") belonging to the derwishes. Now Johar was a black slave, but while he was playing the cymbals and dancing, he appeared to all present white like snow. When the derwīshes had finished playing on their instruments he continued dancing, being, as it were, out of his mind and forgetting his surroundings. His lord drew near to him and patted him on the shoulder and said: "*La Allaha ila Allah*," which, when he heard, he stopped and recovered his mind. Then the sheikh ordered Johar to make coffee. As soon as he had departed to make the coffee, the derwīshes said to the sheikh: "Lord, your slave is worth having the power," and the sheikh replied: "*Inshallah*, may God keep him pure." The slave returned with the coffee which they drank, and they all passed the night at the zāwiyeh.

In the morning they had *kaskassūn* for breakfast, after eating which they rose from the table. And Johar started to collect the seed-like fragments of kaskassūn which had fallen from the food, which when his lord saw, he said: "What are you doing now?" and he replied: "My lord, I am collecting the fallen pieces from the ground and here I have them in my hand." And the sheikh saw that each fragment he had collected had become a pearl (*Lulu*), and the sheikh said to him: "These are pearls, and henceforward your name is Lulu (pearl), and now you shall be sheikh of the zāwiyeh and I will take my departure for the place is not large enough for the two of us. The zāwiyeh and all the *wakf*[1] I deliver into your hands." And the Sheikh Lulu remained in the zāwiyeh until he died, and now it is called the zāwiyeh of Sheikh Lulu and, to the present time, when a derwīsh goes to Jerusalem and enters the Damascus Gate, he must visit it and read a *Fathah* for the soul of Sheikh Lulu.

The story of Sittna Rābe'at el-'Alaweyeh.

Sheikh Rābe'at (رابعة), who has a maḳām on the Mount of Olives, belonged to Damascus where she lived all her life and where she died.

[1] Religious endowments.

The reason why she came from Damascus was that while she was there she was fond of the society of young men, and as she was of excellent beauty, everyone who went to see her was fascinated by her. She did not, however, allow herself to be visited by everyone, but only those who were well-dressed and clean. Because of this, the people who were wont to visit her, if they had no suitable clothes used to borrow clothes for the purpose.

If a man came in the forenoon or afternoon she would meet and welcome him, and would converse with him until the time of prayer came. Then she would say to him: "Were it not better if we were lawfully married, according to the will of God and His apostle? That were better than your design." The man would obey her because of her beauty and would agree to whatever she said. Then she would say to him: "If you swear to me that you agree to this, and will not speak to anyone about our conversation, you must enter by my sleeve (قمي)." She would then open her sleeve and he would walk up her arm until he came to her back; when he got there he would see a bath of water and towels, and she would tell him: "Now you are obliged to wash yourself in this bath that you may be clean." While he was washing himself she would tie a string to him so that he should not touch her, lest he should spoil her purity for prayer. After he had washed she would take hold of the string, and it being the time of prayer, she would throw him from her hand and he would fall, in consequence, to the Ḥaram in Balād el-Ḥijāz. Arriving there, he would pray behind the Prophet (On whom be peace!), and at the *tuslīm* (تسلين) (*i.e.*, the moment when he who prays says "peace" over each shoulder) the Prophet, seeing a strange man at the prayer would understand that he was one of those sent from Damascus by Rābe'at el-'Alaweyeh. So, when the prayer was ended, the Prophet would rise and salute him, and ask him about Rābe'at, and say to him: "Do not be troubled, I promise you Paradise at the end, and will give you seventy-five hūrīyeh, very beautiful and pleasing, and now you are my best beloved." After this the man would become quite changed, leaving the world, and devoting himself to religion.

Sittna Rābe'at el-'Alaweyeh continued to act thus until her death. And the Prophet knew of her death because he heard the Āthān (اذان) (voice of the Mu'ezzin) announcing her death. For it is the custom when anyone dies, who is one of the nobles or the

warriors of the Faith, to make an Āthān in all the minarets. When the Prophet knew of her death he said: "It is not good that her grave should be in Damascus; it should be in the highest mountain in Jerusalem, opposite Beit el-Muḳaddas, so that everyone who goes to Jerusalem should visit her, and her honour should be great." So when they put her in her shroud and prayed over her in Damascus, she flew from their midst and descended upon the Jebel et-Tūr (*i.e.*, Mount of Olives) at Jerusalem. Now no one knew about her arrival that night, but the people of et-Tūr heard sounds as though many people were passing that night, singing and praying in high voices. They looked and saw a coffin passing, surrounded by a crowd on every side, coming till it reached the place where the maḳām now is. When the people approached the coffin they found no one there and, having taken away the cover, they saw the body of a woman with a light shining from her face. They knew at once that it must be Rābe'at, for whom they had heard the Āthān from the minarets at the mosque, and they realized that those who had been carrying her were angels.

The story of Sheikh Shāker.

Sheikh Shāker (شاكر) is a descendant of Saidna Ḥamzeh who was the foster brother of Saidna Maḥommed. Sittna Hatemeh suckled Sīdna Muḥammad from the right breast, and Sīdna Hamzeh from her left breast, and thus he became the brother of Sīdna Muḥammad.

Sheikh Shāker has a maḳām at Beit Sīrā (صيرا), which is honoured by all the fellaḥīn, and many of these people go to him. He "examines the book" for them. For example, if some absent person is coming, or someone is sick, he makes an amulet for them which brings good luck. He also tells fortunes in the stars. Moreover, if anyone is going on a journey, or is going to marry, or is going to make a partnership with another person, he goes to Sheikh Shāker and finds out the prospect of such undertakings, whether they will be lucky or not. He is always being consulted about cases of this kind.

One day, in Ramleh, the wife of Muḥammad el-Mushleh (المشلّه), one of the people of high rank, fell ill. Her husband was much attached to her, and on this account he brought many doctors from Ramleh and Jaffa. They treated her, but everything proved useless.

When the disease became worse, he took her to Jerusalem to the doctors there, where she remained a long time without benefit. When at last he returned with her to Ramleh, the people advised him to bring Sheikh Shāker, who, they said, would know whether she could be cured or not, and, if cure was possible, he would provide a medicine. The husband accordingly told Sheikh 'Abd el-Derwīsh, attendant upon Sheikh Shāker, to bring his lord Sheikh Shāker from Sīrā. When Sheikh 'Abd reached Sīrā, he found his lord standing at the door of the house, and, after saluting him, told him that Muḥammad el-Mushleh wished to see him because his wife was sick, and the doctors at Jerusalem and Jaffa had proved of no use. Sheikh Shāker at once said: "The time is past; but, never mind, I will go"; so he took his book and rode on his horse to Ramleh. While they were on the way, Sheikh 'Abd told him he feared the journey would be of no use. On arrival at Ramleh, they were at once taken to see the woman, and the Sheikh Shāker took his book and opened it, and asked her name and the name of her mother, and they told him, and he knew her star, and then he said: "*Inshallah*, to-morrow she will be at rest, and I will give her medicine." Now this was not the Sheikh's usual custom; because, when he saw the patient he used, as a rule, to express all his thoughts, and this was a new way for him to treat the sick. Then he said to Sheikh 'Abd: "Go out of the house and lead my horse, and accompany me to Sheikh Ḥassain 'Abu Ḳubr, because the time is not propitious." Sheikh Ḥassain had at that time married a new wife from Ramleh, and was living in Ramleh; and when they arrived at Sheikh Ḥassain's house, Sheikh 'Abd asked his lord's permission to go to his own house and see his children. As he was going home past the market place, he saw in a coffee shop a famous derwīsh, Sheikh Sa'id (who had once taken away cholera from Ramleh by God's will), and when Sheikh Sa'id saw him, he told the coffee maker to bring coffee for Sheikh 'Abd, and to place stools. Now this Sheikh Sa'id never spoke to anyone, so everyone was astonished at his making this request of the *Kahweji*. When the coffee was brought, Sheikh Sa'id said to Sheikh 'Abd: "Take a drink of coffee, for you have come from a distance and are tired." And after he had drunk his coffee, Sheikh 'Abd told Sheikh Sa'id that he had brought Sheikh Shāker to the wife of Muḥammad Mushleh, who was sick, and asked him "what he thought about her." Sheikh Sa'id replied: "It is her age (*i.e.*,

the end of her days), because they did not think of Sheikh Shāker until the moment of her death, and now it is finished." And when Sheikh 'Abd heard these words he returned to his lord and informed him that the woman was dead. Sheikh Shāker said: "I knew at once after I opened the book that when we left she would die; that is why I did not give her any medicine, because I saw 'her spirit was in her throat' and there was no hope of a cure."

(*To be continued.*)

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ELEPHANTINE ARAMAIC JEWISH PAPYRI.

By Joseph Offord.

During the last two years, when examining new publications of Egyptian, cuneiform, and other kindred literary antiquities of Western Asia for matters bearing upon Ancient Palestinian history, a number of interesting facts throwing light upon the connection of the Jews with Egypt, and with the pre-Hebrew inhabitants of Palestine and neighbouring peoples, which agree with and throw light upon the Old Testament books and other Hebrew records, have come to my notice. Some of the more important of these will be summarised here so as not to be widely separated from the volume of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1915 which contained two articles upon the Yeb Papyri.

For instance, an apt illustration, from the Egyptian side, of Ezekiel's geographical antithesis between the extreme northern and southern limits of the frontiers of Pharaohland at his epoch, expressed in the phrase "from Migdol to Syene," appears in the Sinuhit Papyrus. That official, thinking his life endangered, for political reasons, fled into Syria, but finally returned to his fatherland. In commenting upon the folly of his action, he pleads guilty saying the course he took was absolutely unreasonable, as stupid as things one imagines we do in a dream. As an instance of the fatuity of dreamland incidents he suggests as particularly absurd the

idea of "a man of Athu (in the Delta) who sees himself at Abu (Yeb), or a man of the plain of Egypt who sees himself on the mountain" (the sterile plateau on each side of the Nile valley).[1]

Sinuhit thus makes Syene, or Yeb, the very geographical antipodes—as does the Prophet—of the marshland (Migdol protected) northern district. The intercourse between Palestine and Egypt, permitting the permeation of these Egyptian modes of thought and expression into Hebrew literature, may have been more recent than the residence in Goshen before the Exodus, because Jeremiah xxiv, 8, refers to Jews in Egypt in Zedekiah's time before the Captivity.

It cannot at present be proved that the "el" of the Haram-Bethel at Yeb is a compound of the Biblical El, with the meaning "house of El," although we have evidence that Syrians, and perhaps Samaritans, had a god El, because we know of a personal name reading (a) "King of Kings is El."[2] On the other hand, records for a deity named Bethel accumulate; thus Bethel occurs as a divine name in a treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre[3].

Prof. Hoonacker quotes several proper names in the Elephantine Papyri compounded with Bethel, such as Bethelitaqshezib, "Bethel protects." Also Bethel-nathan and Bethelaqab. There is an ostracon from Assouan given in the *Corpus* of Semitic Inscriptions, II, No. 154, which bears a name made up of Bethel. Moreover, the syllables Bethel in a name evidently were not understood to mean house, or shrine, of El, but conveyed the idea of a polysyllabic deity's name, when Jeremiah wrote "Moab shall become ashamed because of Kemosh, as the House of Israel because of Bethel," Jeremiah xlviii, 13.[4]

Upon the other hand, there were various cults beyond Yahveh's prevalent in Palestine, so that, that a worship of Bethel[5] existed there

[1] Sir G. Maspero, "The Adventures of Sinuhit," *Records of the Past*. New Series. Vol. II, p. 31.

[2] Stanley A. Cook, *Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 85.

[3] Zimmern, *Der Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.*, 3rd edition, p. 437.

[4] With reference to the worship of Anat at Elephantine it is noteworthy that Shamgar was Ben-Anath, and that among scarabs from the Delta where Hyksos Asiatic Pharaohs reigned, there was one in the Fraser Collection of a personage named Ânt-'il, viz., Anati-el. A Canaanite name Anati also occurs in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

[5] In Zechariah vii, 2, we may read a man's name Bethel-Sharezer, instead of the A.V. "House of God of Sharezer."

is not unique, there having been other heresies. Of these one was the duplicate of that of Baal, or Bel his Mesopotamian prototype, and common among the Amorites of Northern Palestine. The evidence for this is that one of David's officers was named Bealiah. Also in Genesis xlvi, 21, one of Benjamin's sons is called Ishbel. As time passed and Baal became known to be an offence to Yahveh, the name Ishbel was changed by the Chronicler into Jediael, see 1 Chronicles vii, 6.[1] However, a name compounded of Baal, Meribbaal, occurs in 1 Chronicles viii, 34, and is repeated upon the Ostraca from Samaria. But the change of Baal names, by substitution, is in agreement with Hosea's foretelling that they should no more be used by the Israelites, and consequently it is most interesting to find how the latest archaeological discoveries confirm the Prophet, for out of some four hundred personal names among the Elephantine Papyri not one is compounded of Baal, and the same statement applies to the name-list of the LXX translators.

The acknowledgment of Baal, or Bel, as a deity, did not always imply a denial of that of Yahveh, because Dr. Pinches[2] gives a cuneiform writing of a man's name as Bel-yau, "Bel (is) Yahu," with which we may compare a title in a Punic inscription from Constantine בעל יהו.

Some remarks of M. René Dussaud in his latest edition of the text upon the Moabite Stone, printed in the Catalogue of the Palestinian Antiquities in the Louvre, concern the writing of the name of God as יהו, which form, it should be noted, is precisely that upon a coin of Gaza cut above a figure of Zeus.[3] M. Dussaud writes as follows: "Yahu upon Mesha's Stone is יהוה, and the regularity with which *-h* is added to the word appears as if the Jews said 'Yahwoh,'" which would explain the graphic equivalence of יהוה and יהו. The Assyrian form Yaua for Jehu suggests the Hebrew was Yahwah. As to the polytheism of some Jews at Mesha's era and subsequently, M. Dussaud suggests that according to the Moabite record the Hebrew Gadites had a shrine to Dodoh at their city of

[1] For a similar reason the Ishbaal of 2 Samuel was purposely altered by orthodox scribes into Ishbosheth, see 2 Samuel ii, and 1 Chronicles viii, 33.

[2] See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1892, p. 4. In the same Journal, 1917, p. 71, is a most interesting cuneiform name: (who is) "like Yahveh" , *Aki-yauau.*

[3] See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1908, p. 47.

Ataroth, as well as one to Yahveh. As pointing to such an action being possible, and known to some of the Old Testament writers, he follows Winckler in connecting the דֶּרֶךְ *derek*, "way" or "manner" of Amos viii, 14, into דֹדֵךְ *dodēka* = "thy Dodah," thus reading: "And they say, as thy Elohim lives, O Dan; as thy Dodah lives, O Beersheba." He does not allude to the fact that as late as David's time two personages are named Dodo or Dodai,[1] and a third man in the time of the Judges where the LXX translate the name *πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ* (Judges x, 1), "his father's brother," a perfectly natural rendering if we had not the evidence of the Mesha tablet and the two names just quoted.

As Bel-yau unites two divine names, so does the patronymic upon one of the still inedited Samarian ostraca who was called Gadyo(= yah), thus uniting Fortune with Yahveh. This name is very similar to the Gadiou of a Nabatean inscription to be read in the *Revue Biblique*, 1911, p. 314[2]; also of Cook's *Aramaic Glossary*, p. 36. Isaiah (lxv, 11) speaks of "a table for Gad and offering for Meni." This recognition of Gad by a Jew may confirm the Rev. C. J. Ball's view, that, Genesis xxx, 11–13, are intended to be read "with Gad's help," and "with Asherah's help." A seal published by M. de Vogüé gives a personal name Gad-melek, and among the names in the Murashu banker's records at Nippur, many of whose clients were Jews and Syrians, is one Gad-aliâma. The Gad-melech of de Vogüé's seal forms a most curious commentary upon Jeremiah xlix, 1, where the prophet says of the Ammonites "Why does their Melek inherit Gad?"[2]

Reference was made in the previous account of the Elephantine Papyri and the heretical worship at that post, to the connection of the kings of Judah with sun-worship as shown by some of them keeping horses and chariots of the Sun-god nêar the Temple upon Mount Zion. Palestine under the Hebrew monarchies also had "images" or "sun pillars," emblems of solar worship, which 2 Chronicles xiv, 4, tells us Asa destroyed. These sun pillars

[1] 1 Chronicles xi, 12, and xxvii, 4, דּוֹדוֹ and דּוֹדַי; Josephus Δωδείος.

[2] de Vogüé, *Revue Archéologique*, 1869, p. 146, גדמב, "Gad is good," is a name in a Nabatean inscription. Gad-melek is upon a seal given in Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phoenicia*. Gadsan occurs in a Punic inscription found in Tunis in 1908. Gaddai is in Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil dArchéologie Orientale*, IV, 26. Gadmarâm is on an Israel seal, see *Revue Biblique*, 1910, p. 417.

(*khammānīm*) are mentioned in at least three other Old Testament books, and Ezekiel specially condemns the worship.[1]

A bright light is thrown upon them by a Palmyrene inscription now in the Ashmolean Museum. It is a dedication to Shemesh the Sun-god: "In the month Elul, year 396 of the Seleucid era (A.D. 85), this sun pillar (חמנא) and this altar were erected and dedicated." The word Hamman in the many Phoenician texts to Baal Hamman is this word.

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

By Estelle Blyth.

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem is one of the few romances of history which have survived the buffets of time, and, in spite of conditions of utility and common sense, so-called, that control and sometimes blight our modern existence, it continues to enjoy a vigorous life to-day. The foundation of the Order dates from a very early period, and was due to the action of one Gerard of Amalfi and his fellow-merchants, who, with an admirable mixture of charity and foresight, "had made the prince of Egypt (then governor of Jerusalem) their friend by paying him tribute and presents, and were in high favour with him. These men easily persuaded the prince to suffer them to build a Latin church in honour of St. Mary, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, scarce a stone's throw from it . . . . . Wherefore the aforesaid church is, even to this day, called St. Mary the Latin, for they established therein a Latin abbot and monks to conduct Divine Service according to the Latin rite. In the course of time, without the walls of the aforesaid convent, whose monks thought it unbecoming that they should lodge women pilgrims, they established another convent dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and a sisterhood therein of religious women to minister to Latin women pilgrims in that place, and give them entertainment. Afterwards, however, as

[1] Leviticus xxvi, 30; Isaiah xvii, 8; Ezekiel vi, 4.

multitudes of pilgrims flocked thither, and the aforesaid monasteries were not sufficient to lodge all the poor, sick, and afflicted people, the aforesaid abbot and monks, on the same site, close by their own church, built for the use of sick and poor people a hospital and chapel dedicated to St John the Charitable." (Jacques de Vitry, 1180.) John the Charitable, Patriarch of Alexandria, was won by a vision of the mystical King's Daughter to a charity so fervent and ungrudging, that he was wont even to "strip off the clothes which he wore and give them to the poor—nay, sometimes, out of his exceeding great charity, he would bestow upon them even the sacred vestments wherein he celebrated Mass." This man was well chosen as the patron saint of an Order whose object was charity, almsgiving, and service. Later on, however, the dedication was changed, and St. John the Baptist, the fearless champion of the Faith, replaced John the Charitable as patron of the Order, and has continued so to this day.

Gerard of Amalfi evidently realised the necessity for some such establishment for the comfort and protection of Christian pilgrims and sojourners in the Holy City; its usefulness was acknowledged by the Saracens, who left it alone. The firman establishing the hospice is still preserved in the Franciscan monastery at Jerusalem—or was within recent years. Gerard of Amalfi is sometimes confused with that Gerard d'Avesnes whom the Saracens exposed on the walls of Arsuf, bound to a cross, in the hope of deterring Godfrey de Bouillon from his purpose against the city; but as Gerard of Amalfi founded his hospice in 1050, and Gerard d'Avesnes was crucified in 1100, and, surviving, was afterwards created Sieur of St. Abraham (Hebron), they can hardly have been the same.

The Hospice of St. Mary the Latin was also, as we can see, a little centre of western influence and religion in the Holy City, where the Eastern Church was in a state of painful servitude to the Mohammedan rulers. It is an interesting point that it was on the site where an early hospital had been erected by Charlemagne, during that period when East and West met in such close friendship, in the reigns of the great Emperor and Haroun al-Raschid. A pilgrim, named Bernard the Wise (867 A.D.), lodged "in the hospice of the most glorious Emperor Charles, where are lodged all those who go to that place for devout cause and speak the Roman tongue." The legend that Charlemagne himself visited Jerusalem is not substantiated, but it is interesting, as an old "Chanson du Voyage

de Charlemagne" speaks of the rich decorations of the monastery, showing:—

"The moon's courses
And annual festivals,
And running fountains,
And fish at sea."

(*Jerusalem*, Conder, p. 251.) These decorations seem to have suggested ideas to the builders of the later institution, for the old sculptures now set over the north portal of the German church on the Muristan are on very much the same lines. "Among these are representations of the months (much damaged): January, on the left, has disappeared; 'Feb,' a man pruning a tree; 'Ma'; 'Aprilis,' a sitting figure; 'Majus,' a man kneeling and cultivating the ground; (Ju)'nius'; (Ju)'lius,' a reaper; 'Augustus,' a thresher; (S)'eptem'(ber), a grape-gatherer; (Octob)'er,' a man with a cask; (November), a woman standing upright. Above, between June and July, is the sun (with the superscription 'sol'), represented by a half-figure holding a disc over its head. Adjacent is the moon ('luna'), a female figure with a crescent. The cornice above these figures bears medallions representing leaves, griffins, etc." (*Baedeker*, p. 47.)

When the Holy City was captured by the First Crusade (1099), the Hospital of St. John hastened to throw open its doors to the Christian sick and wounded, who were very many. As the enemy had been practically exterminated, it was not necessary to consider them at all. So active and so useful were the brethren of St. John that the princes of the Crusade were filled with gratitude, and showered on them gifts and privileges, whereby the Order suddenly attained both wealth and influence. Peter Gerard, the Rector, then applied to the Pope for permission to become a religious order under the threefold monastic vow. This was granted, and many of the Crusaders, tired of warfare, threw off the habit of the world for the austere black robe of the Order, which bore on the left shoulder a white cross of eight points, symbolic of the eight Beatitudes of Christ. Many of the new members were men belonging to great houses in Europe, and of personal distinction, whose admission increased the fame and influence of the Order.

It was Raymond Dupuy, a man of vision, who made the Brotherhood a military religious Order. He succeeded Peter Gerard as Rector, and he found that the new members, drawn so lately

from the ranks of the First Crusade, were first and last fighters. They were, in fact, veterans in warfare after the three years' campaign in various countries, which had ended in the capture of Jerusalem; and even after the conquest there had been stiff fighting here and there in the new kingdom. They were also soldiers in trained military habit as well as by instinct, and to let such talent rust away, when the young kingdom was fighting almost daily for its bare existence, were a waste indeed. Raymond Dupuy suggested to the king, Baldwin I, that such men might add the vow to fight to the monastic vow already taken, to the mutual welfare of the Order and the kingdom. Eagerly Baldwin agreed; the Pope was convinced without much difficulty; and the fighting Brotherhood of St. John of Jerusalem was henceforth to raise its standard of the white cross over many a stricken field of battle, both in East and West.

Houses belonging to the Order sprang up all over Palestine, and in Europe, as the Order expanded. The knights wore their own coats-of-arms under the mantle of the Order, which members who were admitted in other lands than Palestine were not allowed to wear, though of course they used the white eight-pointed cross which was its badge. There were three ranks: the knights of noble birth, who fought; the clergy, who served the churches of the Order, and ministered to the Christian army in time of war; and the serving-brethren, who were men of lowly birth, who served the knights, worked in the hospitals, and performed the necessary menial offices for the rest. The Hospitallers fought on the left wing in battle, the place of the Templars being on the right.

The Knights of St. John were great builders. The magnificence of their establishment at Jerusalem never failed to impress those who saw it, and several of the old pilgrims describe it in glowing terms. It was capable of housing two thousand guests as well as its own four hundred knights, and there was also an infirmary attached for the use of the sick, who, according to Benjamin of Tudela (1163), were "provided with everyting they might want, both during life and in death." Sir John Maundeville (1323) describes it more minutely: "Within the palace of the sick men of that hospital are one hundred and twenty-four pillars of stone; and in the walls of the house, besides the number aforesaid, there are fifty-four pillars that support the house." "No one can credibly tell another how beautiful its buildings are," says Theoderich (1172),

"how abundantly it is supplied with rooms and beds and other material for the use of poor and sick people, how rich it is in the means of refreshing the poor, and how devotedly it labours to maintain the needy, unless he has had the opportunity of seeing it with his own eyes. Indeed, we passed through this palace, and were unable by any means to discover the number of sick people lying there; but we saw that the beds numbered more than one thousand. It is not every one, even of the most powerful kings and despots, who could maintain as many people as that house does every day; and no wonder, for, in addition to its possessions in other countries (whose sum total is not easily arrived at), the Hospitallers and the Templars have conquered almost all the cities and villages which once belonged to Judaea, and which were destroyed by Vespasian and Titus, together with all their lands and vineyards; for they have troops stationed throughout the entire country, and castles well fortified against the infidels." When the sick died in the hospital they were "cast" into a burying-place above the Valley of Jehoshaphat, called Chaudemar, or Champ de Mar, which was given to the Hospitallers for that purpose by one of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem; Sir John Maundeville calls it in plain words "the charnel-house of the hospital of St. John, where they used to put the bones of dead men." A vault was built over it about 1143.

With every year the power and wealth of the Hospitallers seemed to increase. From the beautiful mother-house at Jerusalem they spread themselves abroad over the land, erecting buildings, far greater in extent, for the defence of the Christian kingdom. Baldwin I gave them large grants of property in various parts of the country; they acquired also important sites near Antioch, Nablûs, Edessa (Homs), to the north of Tyre, at Beyrout, Acre, Marakia, Tiberias, Caesarea, Jaffa, and Ascalon. The famous Hospitallers' Tower at Ascalon was a "building that commanded the sea, and was as strong as a castle . . . it was so solidly built that the workmen's picks made no impression on it whatever, and they were obliged to set it on fire to make the stones more friable before the labourers attacked it with their tools . . . . It burnt for two days and nights." (*Saladin*, p. 199.) Such is Beha ed-Din's account of one of the Hospitallers' buildings, and the labour to Saladin of its destruction. Ascalon was always accounted of really vital importance to whoever held Palestine. The Crusaders spent

endless pains in fortifying it after they captured it; so, too, did Saladin in his turn; and in the Third Crusade, when Richard would take Jerusalem, both Hospitallers and Templars agreed for once in advising him to rebuild Ascalon before he raised his hand against the Holy City. Later on, the question of the possession of Ascalon was what wrecked the peace negotiations between Richard and Saladin.

The Hospitallers owned no suzerain but the Pope, and the Pope was far off. The Patriarch of Jerusalem was nearer at hand, but the Order never hesitated to withstand him if occasion arose—as, for instance, in Baldwin IV's reign, when, the Patriarch and the Order being on terms of open disagreement with each other, the knights revenged themselves by ringing their bells vigorously whenever the Patriarch entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to take service, which entirely prevented anyone from hearing a word he said. When the bishops banned a man, the Hospitallers did not hesitate to protect him if they wanted to. Neither church nor king dared gainsay the great Order, more especially as its reputation for charity and good works was only equalled by that of its valour in battle, and its high record of service to the Christian kingdom; for all of which it was well spoken of everywhere. Very proudly and very thoroughly did the Hospitallers live up to their double motto, "*Pro Fide, Pro Utilitate Hominum.*" Had the Order passed into one of purely military purpose, it must inevitably have died out with the need for such institutions, as the other military orders of Europe have died.

The Hospitallers played a big part in the history of the Holy Land. They were always ready to fight the foe, and they served the Christian kingdom far more unselfishly than the Templars did. The kings kept on good terms with them, and wisely so, for had it come to an open breach between them, the crown could hardly have come out scatheless, let alone victorious. They were very effective guardians of the pilgrims, who were a main source of revenue to the kingdom; and under their just, if stern, rule numbers of Saracens dwelt in peace and prosperity. They were given the taxes on certain Bedouin tribes as these fell under Frankish rule, and in 1178 Sir Amaury de Nablous sold to them all his Bedouin for twelve hundred pounds. Baldwin III gave them fifty tents of Bedouin, and Baldwin IV one hundred; and so, with all their castles, hamlets, and arable land, the Order was practically a

kingdom within a kingdom. The Saracens always stood somewhat in awe of their prowess in arms, and immediately after the battle of Hattîn (July 2, 1187), two hundred and thirty Knights of St. John and of the Temple were beheaded by Saladin, "he spared not a single one." It was at the battle of Arsuf, however, that the Hospitallers won immortal fame; their bearing on that day (September 7, 1191) was worthy of their successors in the sieges of Rhodes and Malta. Arsuf is also one of the finest battles in our history, and we may well make a brief digression here to glance at it.

Richard I captured the city of Acre in July, 1191, after a stubborn siege of twenty-three months. Its fall was stained by the appalling slaughter of prisoners by both sides; after which the victorious Crusaders fell into excess upon excess, "so that the city was defiled by the luxury of the sons of folly and the gluttony of its inhabitants, who made wiser faces blush at their shamelessness" (Geoffrey de Vinsauf, 1191). The French troops were withdrawn by their small-minded king, through jealousy of Richard rather than for shame at their share in the general wickedness; and Richard's efforts actually succeeded in remoulding an unmanageable horde of gamblers and drunkards into a disciplined army—a feat which, from a military point of view, is almost unequalled. Richard hurried his reformed army south towards Jaffa, his ultimate objective being, of course, Jerusalem. The host dwindled as it went, through constant harassing by the Saracen light horse, through sickness and, no doubt, desertion; one-third of their number had actually been lost when, early on the morning of September 7th, Richard's spies brought word that a Saracen force of at least 300,000 men was advancing from the east. Richard divided his army into five parts, each composed of 20,000 men; the Templars led the van, according to custom; the Hospitallers, under their Grand Master, Godfrey de Duisson, brought up the rear, while Richard himself held the centre, composed of English and Norman troops. About 9 a.m. the Saracen advance guard, of 10,000 mounted men, suddenly burst upon the Christian rear, followed by "an infernal race of men, of black colour, and bearing a suitable appellation expressive of their blackness," and by the Bedouin, "a savage race of men, blacker than soot." In apparently inexhaustible numbers, "on horses swifter than eagles, and urged on like lightning to attack," the Saracens charged into the Crusading rear to the wild music of "clarions and trumpets, horns, pipes, and timbrels, gongs, cymbals, and other

instruments, producing," as we can well believe, "a horrible noise and clamour." The Saracens cut through the Crusading lines by the sheer impetus of these successive charges; the Hospitallers had turned to receive them, and now the two armies, locked in a terrible hand-to-hand struggle, were actually moving along together. The brunt of the engagement was borne by the Hospitallers, who were marching backwards so as to face the foe; they had lost so many horses that the knights, greviously encumbered by their heavy armour, were fighting on foot. "Oh, excellent St. George!" was the cry, "will you leave us thus to be put to confusion? Christendom perishes, while we may not return a blow upon the impious ones!"

Urgent messages for help were sent back to Richard, who, in the centre, was gradually halting the English and Norman troops, thus forming a solid wall of support and defence for the Hospitallers as they fell backwards; here was still the King himself, his presence being shown by the raising of the English flag, which has ever been the object of inspiration and of worship to every generation of English fighters. It was probably Richard's plan to consolidate his army thus, by its own movement as it were, and then to lead the whole mass in one of the thundering charges he delighted in. Two messages for help Richard received with scant consideration, though the bearer of the second was de Duisson himself. "Lord King," he said, "we be grievously beset, and are in danger of eternal infamy as if we did not dare to return their blows. We are each of us losing our horses; and why should we bear with them any longer?"

"Good Master," answered Richard, curtly, "it is you who must sustain their attack, for no man can be everywhere at once."

The Grand Master returned to his brethren just as the Saracens launched another fierce attack, "while there was no chief or count who did not blush for very shame." And then a strange thing happened. The Marshal of the Hospitallers and Sir Baldwin de Carew, "a good and brave man, and the companion of the king," positively charged the enemy by themselves, shouting the well-known battle-cry, "Ha! St. George! Ha! St. George!"

At that familiar sound, rank after rank of the Crusaders turned with eagerness, until the whole army was thundering down upon the Saracens in one of the finest cavalry charges known to history. Richard's quick brain grasped the situation; like a streak of lightning he pierced through the ranks to the front, and led that supreme

charge himself. Even to read of it quickens the blood: it was the romance of war at its purest, a great fight truly, one of the greatest in our history. The Saracens wavered, broke, and fled. Richard, "the fierce, the extraordinary king," like death incarnate, swept around him "an ample space" by the might of his untiring arm. Not many of the Saracens escaped; the Crusaders' losses were also heavy, though, according to Beha ed-Din, they lost but one man as a prisoner, "who was brought to the Sultan, and beheaded by his command." Both sides claimed the crown of martyrdom for their fallen—a devout belief which comforted them greatly, and is very often simply a point of view.

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1917, p. 103.)

XXXIII. *Semitic Names and Conceptions.*

In an article upon Babylonian and Hebrew Theophoric names in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1916, pp. 85–94, the similarity of conception indicated between the words of the Old Testament and the personal names made up of deity titles in the Mesopotamian dialects was illustrated by the expression of the idea of God as a mountain or hill of refuge. The Hebrew phrase "God the mount of my help," and the names Bel Šadua, "Bel is my mountain," and the affirmative that Bel was *Šadu rabu*, "The mighty mountain," were compared. Other Babylonian names of like import may be cited, such as Be'li-šatu, "My god is the mountain." The name of the ancient princely son of Ur-nina, patesi of Lagash, Akurgal, is equivalent to Apil-šadi-rabi, "Man of the great mountain." Dr. Hilprecht also gives such titles as Šadû-rabû-êtir, Šadû-rabû-nadin, and also Šadû-rabu-she-zib.[1]

[1] Hilprecht, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons, of Nippur*, gives a name Iše-šadû-rabû, "O Shadu lift up!" which is comparable to the thought "The Lord raiseth up," of Psalm cxlv, 14. The meanings of the last names are, "Aided by the great mountain," "Gift of the great mountain," "Protected by the great mountain."

These expressions coincide with those attributable to the cult of the hill-top Baalim by primitive Palestinian peoples, and that of the mountain summit spirits and deities of many races.

Thus, Benhadad's Syrian followers attributed Israel's victory over them to the Hebrew's God being a hill deity, Baal Hermon.

Doubtless the origin of such worships was anthropomorphic. The mountain tops were the nearest earthly sites to heaven, where, at all events in stellar mythology, many deities dwelt. Their peaks caught the first, and claimed the final, rays of the rising and the setting sun. See the "Bamoth on the heights" of 2 Chron. xxi, 11, a word that also recurs in the Mesha inscription.

Like almost all elements of the neighbouring paganism, the Palestine-dwelling Hebrews came into contact with this form of religion, if it may properly be so called, and it is specifically condemned by one of the prophets in these terms: "Truly in vain is Salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains."[1]

This refutation of a futile hill-god worship probably explains the correct meaning of Psalm cxxi, 1 and 2, where the second verse is antithetical to the first, setting forth the hopelessness of help coming from any (imaginary) mountain deity.

Mr. Ferrar Fenton's version of these verses may be given here:

"I lift up my eyes to the hills
But to me no help comes.
My help comes from Yahveh
Who made the heavens and the earth."

This brings out clearly the ethical meaning of these sentences. So far from a mound of earth being a god, Yahveh made the whole earth. If it derived any content of deity from its proximity to heaven, Yahveh had created that also. The author is on a higher monotheistic mental plane than that of any of the old "world religions."

Diametrically opposed as were Jeremiah and the Psalmist to any mountain worship, yet, as with many of the observances of primitive times familiar to the Jews, the actions of their ancestors appear to have been highly significant of the propriety of attaching particular sanctity to mountain summits. Thus, suiting the actions of their leaders to the simple sentiments of the people—sentiments which

[1] Compare 1 Kings xx, 28, Jeremiah iii, 23. הַר בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן, Baal Hermon.

were not blamable—the people of antiquity regarded mountains as dwelling places of the gods, and the connection of Yahveh with mountains appears to date almost from His inception. Abraham was ordered to sacrifice Isaac on Moriah, later the site for the temple. Yahveh's first chief manifestation of Himself was upon Sinai, and Mount Zion, and these hill-names are used as a synonym for the worship of the true God.[1] In the New Testament, when one mountain is decried, another, though doubtless in mystical language, is acclaimed, "Ye are not come to Mount Sinai but to Mount Zion."[2]

The consequence of this tendency to meet in this matter as far as possible the primitive concepts of the Jews and their relatives was curious in the case of their controversy with the Samaritans. The conflict appears to have chiefly centred about the relative sanctity of Zion and Gerizim, and there is good reason to think that Samaritan scribes tampered with the true reading of Pentateuch texts to support their view. It was not until the argument was finally ended by the explanation to the woman of Samaria that true worship of the deity was universal, not local, that the dispute died away.

Whilst thus in a certain sense accommodating themselves to the mental level of their people, both patriarchs and prophets would have naught of hill-top worship. For it, like almost all pagan cults, had abominable practices connected with it. Israel was to "pluck down all the high places," yet they frequently took up with the accursed thing.

The real fact emerging from these narratives is that those Jews, who in small numbers kept to the true faith of Yahveh, were saved from the universal errors of paganism by some alembic surpassing the soul of man to supply. Their temples have been successively destroyed, but

> "The days shall come when the Hill of the Lord's House
> Shall stand at the head of the Hills
> And rise o'er the Mountains."

There was one Old Testament mountain, a mysterious one as far as our present knowledge goes, that seems a counterpart of, if

[1] Psalms lxv, 1; lxxxiv, 7; xcvii, 8.

[2] Horeb was "the Mount of God." Ezekiel xxviii, 14, speaks of the king of Tyre being set by Yahveh "upon the holy mountain of God," wherever that may be. The Karnaim of Genesis and I and II Maccabees, were double-peaked mountains sacred to Ashtoreth.

not identical with, a mountain of which the cuneiform writers tell. This is the mount which, according to Isaiah xiv, 13, the king of Babylon had boasted of, saying: "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I will sit upon the Mount of the Assembly in the extremity of the North." This is certainly an allusion to the older Bel of Babylon, not Merodach, who had for title "Lord of the Mountain of the North."

It is possible that the mountain god, or god mountain, of the north was not terrestrial, but the celestial region of the polar star, deified because its never setting stars are emblems of the eternal deity. Isaiah, as quoted, writes of a Babylonian king as referring to the "Mountain of Assembly of the North." Sargon, in his Annals (Rawlinson, III, 9, 27), speaks of a deity in Phoenicia entitled Baal-Saphan, "Lord of the [Celestial] North." Egyptian archives mention a Baalat-Saphan, adored in Syria, whilst the Spiegelberg papyrus of Cairo speaks of the Exodus Baal-Zephon. If the sky is the direction in which we are to look for this special mountain, it would explain the first part of the royal vaunt, as vouched for by Isaiah: "I will erect my throne above the stars of God . . . . upon the Mount . . . . of the North."

The A.V. of Isaiah xiv, 13, reads: "sides of the north," and this expression concerning this mountain appears to have been familiar to the writer of Psalm xlviii, 2, who, perhaps purposely, uses the same phrase of Zion: "Beautiful is Mount Zion upon the sides of the north."[1]

XXXIV. *The New Catalogue of Palestinian Antiquities in the Louvre.*

The Department of Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre Museum possesses a valuable collection of monuments and relics from Palestine. Of these, a well-prepared separate Catalogue has been issued under the able direction of M. René Dussaud, who has divided the description of the antiquities into two parts, *Palestiniens* and *Judaïques*, and these again are separated into objects coming from Moab, Judea, Philistia, and Galilee. The volume has thirty-two illustrations, almost all of them heliogravures, in the text, and

[1] Ezekiel xxviii, 14 and 16, writes of another Mount of God, upon which the Prince of Tyre dwelt. In verse 13 is a curious mention of the Phoenicians having once lived in Eden, which seems an allusion to their having come from the Persian Gulf to Syria, as said by the old classical writers.

a large folding plate of the Moabite Stone—the most important of all the monuments. This plate is printed from a reproduction of the stone hitherto unpublished, which belongs to the French Academy.

M. Dussaud provides an elaborate commentary upon the text of Mesa's inscription, treating of the various wars of his time between Moab and Israel; also explaining Moabite geography as indicated by the stele text and the Old Testament, and Mesa's work of town-building and the supplying of his cities with water. Finally, he discusses the Moabite religion, and, incidentally, that of Israel.[1]

He is unable to assign the precise sites of Yahas, Saron, Horonon, or Horonaim, and Maharoth. The Moabite Saron, however, he suggests is the place of that name mentioned in 1 Chron. v, 16, and Maharoth may be the origin of the name of the Wadi Makheres, which leads into the Arnon. He considers that the Old Testament refers to at least three places named Bosor. For Mesa's town of Ḳerehoh, south of Arnon, Reha is suggested, or the Kreha of Seetzen, or the Ḳerḳa of Père Vincent, a little farther to the south. It may be that the fellahîn really pronounce this last name Ḳereha.

With regard to the religious matters illustrated by the stele, it indicates clearly that men outside Israel, such as the Moabites, looked upon Yahveh as Israel's particular God, so that if the story of Elishah seems to suggest that Omri's dynasty did not adhere to Yahveh, the heretical errors were not of such a character or quantity as to be known outside the Jewish State. Ahaziah's sending to Baalzebub at Ekron was possibly not because he considered him as God, but merely as the deity of flies, the cause of some disease from which he was suffering. Elijah could not, as Yahveh's prophet, permit any other deity's help to be invoked for any purpose.

An interesting Palestinian relic in the Louvre is the so-called Moabite relief. The warrior's figure upon it has a peculiar cord-like looking appendix descending from his head or helmet to the waist-belt at the back. We know now (which we did not when

[1] The word in line 30 rendered "Shepherd," is the same as נֹקֵד of 2 Kings iii, 4, alluding to Mesha. Its Assyrian counterpart is Nâkidu, "Shepherd." Sennacherib, speaking of another Moabite chief, Chemosh, calls him Kammusu.

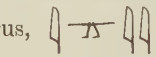
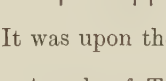
this relief has previously been published) by means of Hittite cylinder seals, with figures bearing this same ornament, that this was a special symbol of Hittite national costume.

The Catalogue describes casts of the Siloam Inscription, and of the one in Greek forbidding any non-Jews to enter the Temple courtyard. Another text of value for Palestine history is that of the sepulchre of the Bene Hezer family, perhaps the descendants of the priest mentioned in 1 Chron. xxiv, 15.

An Arabic milestone of the fifth Ommayad Caliph Abd al-Malik, A.D. 685–705, calls Jerusalem Ilya. This is a late reminiscence of Aelia Capitolina. It was found at Bab el-Wadi, near to Jerusalem, upon the Jaffa road. The seals in the Louvre, such as that of לסמראל, are not given.

XXXV. *The Home Country of one of the Toldoth, Beni Noah.*

In the *Expository Times*, 1916, p. 218, Prof. Sayce states authoritatively that he has shown that the Elishah of the A.V. of Genesis x, 4, is the Alasiya of the Tel el-Amarna Tablets, the Alsa of the Egyptian records, and the Aleian plain of Homer, situated east of Tarsus. Cyprus it could not be, because Kittim, or Citium, the Old Testament title for Cyprus, comes next to it in the Mosaic catalogue. According to the Tel el-Amarna texts Alasiya produced much copper, a feature of the Taurus mineral wealth more than of Cyprus.

There is an Egyptian parallel to the separate but contiguous listing of Alisha (= Alashia) and Cyprus, of Genesis, which corroborates Prof. Sayce's opinion. It is to be found in a litany in honour of the god Amon, inscribed upon the temple of Karnak. There Cyprus,  , comes before but next to Alashia,  . It was upon the mainland opposite to Cyprus, and is stated in the Annals of Tukulti Ninip to have lain north-west of Assyria. Much more might be written to prove that the Alashia of the Egyptians was in Asia Minor. Ezekiel says, according to our A.V., that Elishah, אֱלִישָׁה, was connected with the Isles of the Sea, but the word he uses (*iyyīm*, אִיִּים) means also shore, or littoral.

Inscriptions to Apollo Alasiotas, and to Apollo Lebanus have, it is true, been found in Cyprus. But two reasons for their occurrence

there may be given: one, that the Phoenicians duplicated the names of mainland sites in the part of the island they visited and sometimes sojourned in; the other, that these votive texts were in honour of mainland deities to whose care the mariners gave the credit for their safe transit voyage. The Phoenicians were particularly fond of naming sites in new lands to which they emigrated, after those of their old homes. Thus they had a Carmel in Cyprus, and a Lebanon near Carthage, and Astaroth and Baal Karnaim in North Africa.[1] Prof. Sayce says Elishah is the Homeric Aleian plain eastward of Tarsus, but I would prefer to say it was the Elaiousia of the classics, west of Tarsus.

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEW.

Archaeology and the Bible. By George A. Barton, Ph.D., L.L.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College; Sometime Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. (Philadelphia, American Sunday-School Union, 1916. Price 2 dollars.)

This beautiful and scholarly volume deals with the whole range of archaeological discoveries in so far as they contribute to a better knowledge of the Bible. It is divided into two parts: Part I. The Bible Lands, their exploration and the resultant light on the Bible and History; Part II. Translations of ancient documents which confirm or illuminate the Bible. The work comprises about 470 pages of matter, with indexes of scripture passages and of contents, and 115 plates comprising plans, illustrations, and reproductions of important inscriptions. There are, in addition, 9 maps. The book as a whole is one that can be freely recommended to students of the Bible and of Oriental antiquities. It is not so technical, nor such a source-book, as Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder;* it is more "Biblical" than "archaeological," and differs in this respect from the admirable works of Vincent and

[1] Thus, an inscription from the site of a temple placed between two mountain peaks reads: "Saturno Deo Magno Balcaranensi," that is the Phoenician בעל קרנין.

others; but it is essentially the sort of book that will be appreciated by all intelligent readers of the Bible, and Prof. Barton is to be congratulated on the zeal and thoroughness with which he has accomplished his task. As he points out, in no part of the world have exploration and excavation been so fruitful as in the lands of the Bible. In Egypt and Babylonia vistas of history have been opened up that were undreamed of; Palestine, before the entrance of Israel, has been made to divulge many of its secrets, and of Palestine during the Israelite period we now know far more than our fathers could conceive.

The purpose of the book is to gather into one volume the most valuable information for the service of the pastor and the Sunday-School teacher; in fact, it was undertaken at the request of the Board of Managers of the American Sunday-School Union. The material is so presented that "one may not only have the wealth of illumination for Biblical study that exploration has produced, but also that he may possess an outline of the history of exploration and of the countries sufficient to enable him to place each item in its proper perspective." On the other hand, subjects upon which exploration has contributed no new knowledge are excluded; thus, for the constitution of society, or for ancient dress (*cf.* p. iv), one must look elsewhere, *e.g.*, in the works on Hebrew or Biblical archaeology.

Among Dr. Barton's acknowledgments of indebtedness, it is pleasant to read of the P.E.F., and in particular of the work accomplished by the Fund at Gezer. It is the aim of the Fund to conduct its work as scientifically and methodically as possible, knowing that such work must inevitably contribute to the progress of sound knowledge, even though the value of the contribution may not always seem immediately obvious; hence it is with much gratification that we read Dr. Barton's explicit words:—

> ". . . Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister should, perhaps, be singled out for an especial word of gratitude, for in Chapters VI–XI of Part I his work of excavation has been quoted more frequently than any other. This apparent partiality is due to the fact that Gezer was excavated more completely than any other Palestinian site; that, because of its early and long-continued occupation in ancient times, it reveals a great variety of civilizations; and that, in *The Excavation of Gezer*, Prof. Macalister has presented the results of his work with a

completeness and a degree of intelligibility that no other excavator in Palestine has approached. He has made his work a model of what such a publication should be, and has thereby made us all his debtors."

In the nature of the case there must be many points of greater or less significance upon which uncertainty prevails. Here Prof. Barton has aimed at objectivity and he has striven to keep before him the needs of different classes of readers. Thus, for example, for the more serious student the chapters are arranged to serve as a guide to the archaeological and related aspects, while for teachers or clergymen who may be more interested in certain texts, sections or lessons, full indexes, especially of Scripture references, have been prepared for their use.

In Part I the main divisions are (*a*) Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, and the Hittites; (*b*) Palestine, its exploration, archaeological history: (*c*) Its cities, roads and agriculture, pottery, utensils and ornaments, weights and measures; (*d*) High-places, temples and tombs: (*e*) Jerusalem, Decapolis, Athens, Corinth and the Churches of Asia. In Part II the external sources are arranged according to the order of the Biblical books and passages which they illustrate. Considerable space is given, as it deserves, to the Babylonian king Hammurapi. A concession to popular taste appears in Chap. IX, where in the list of contents we read (p. xi): "Abraham hired an ox; Abraham leased a farm; Abraham paid his rent"; and then, only, "Who was this Abraham?" We must send readers to pp. 290–292 for the answer! Where so much material is given, it seems ungracious to find omissions, yet one misses the old Aramaic inscription relating to Bar-hadad, the allusion on the Assyrian monuments to desert tribes which were introduced into Samaria about 715; while on p. 389, some notice should have been taken of the deities worshipped along with Yahweh by the Jews of Elephantine. A footnote certainly refers to this fact, but the subject is too important to be so summarily dismissed.

Enough has been said to indicate the real value of this admirable work, its fullness, and the many interests to which it appeals. It is just the sort of book to put into the hands of the ordinary intelligent reader, teacher and clergyman; and professed students, in turn, will be glad to possess so handy a work of reference. Yet I cannot close this brief notice without pointing out that so far as my own knowledge of Palestine goes, a far greater change of view,

touching the Old Testament, is necessary than Prof. Barton is prepared to recognise; but in the meanwhile it is far better that we should know what light archaeology brings to bear upon the Bible, than that premature emphasis be laid upon the reconstruction of the religion and history of Israel,—a problem on which specialistic workers are not agreed.

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Punic Calendar.—Mr. Offord has called attention to the learned and suggestive article by Monsieur E. Berliner, upon "Le mois intercalaire du Calendrier Punique" in the *Revue d'Assyrologie*, Vol. XIII (1916), p. 55. M. Berliner's theory is interesting and ingenious, but it demands an interpretation of a Punic text in a manner that does not seem justified by the present state of our knowledge. The inscription in question was discovered in the Spring of 1908 by Capt. Cassaigne, of the French Colonial Army, near Bir-bou-Rekba in Tunis (the ancient Siagu). It is engraved upon a slab of white marble, is in excellent preservation, and appears to date from the first century of our era. The text, as translated by M. Phillipe Berger,[1] is as follows:—

"To the lord Ba'al, and to Tanith Penē-Ba'al, two shrines which were erected by the Community of Tanesmat in the year of the suffetes Himilk, and Himilk son of 'Ankon.

"'Afshan son of Gadsan, and Ba'alhannō son of Miskar, were appointed to superintend the building of these shrines: Farnakan son of Mandakan, Yasdō son of 'Ankon, to superintend the panelling.

"These gods entered into these shrines on the seventeenth of the month of *Mofa'* of this same year.

"Four vessels of libation for the service of these shrines, two bowls, and two *zebarim*, have been made, and given to the priests 'Afaresh son of 'Ankon, and to Bod-'Ashtarte son of Yafash."

M. Berliner deals with the latter half of the third clause of this inscription: לירח מפע לפני השת ז which he reads, *la-yerah Mopha' lipnai ha-shath zĕ*, and translates "of the month of the former Mopha' of this year" (*du mois de Mopha' antérieur de cette année*). He then claims that this "former Mopha'" was the Punic intercalary month; Mofa' being doubled, like Adar in the present Hebrew Calendar, which becomes Adar and Ve-Adar in the inflated year.

[1] *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, Tome LVIII (1908), p. 155.

The whole theory turns, therefore, upon the proper interpretation of the word לפני. This group of four letters is very frequently met with in the Hebrew Bible, where it has the power of a preposition, with the significance of "before." It usually relates to space, and only occasionally to time. That is to say, it generally implies "standing in the presence of," and very rarely is to be understood as "previous to." The customary Hebrew word to express "anterior in time" is ראשון *rīshōn;* and for "Mopha' antérieur" we should expect to find מפע ראשון *Mofa' rīshōn*, just as we do find *yamim rīshōnim* = "former days" (Deut. x, 10) *b-melek ha-rīshōn* = "with the former king" (Numb. xxi, 26), etc., etc.

There is a still more serious objection to M. Berliner. According to the rules of Semitic grammar לפני is in the "construct state" and therefore it can only govern the noun which follows, and not that which precedes. Consequently *Mofa' lifnē* is impossible: we can only have *lifnē ha-shath*.

But here we are confronted with another difficulty. If *lifnē* in Punic had the same significance as in Hebrew, then *lifnē ha-shath* will signify "before this year." In fact, Dr. Lidzbarski[1] and M. Vassel have both adopted this reading, and have translated: "These gods have entered into these shrines on the seventeenth of the month of *Mofa'* before this year" (that is, before the eponymy of the two Himilks). Such a translation, however, makes utter nonsense of the inscription, as M. Berliner is careful to point out. The text commences by stating that the shrines were erected in the eponymy of the two Himilks, and it is quite obvious that the deities could not have entered the shrines before they were constructed. This translation recalls the famous couplet of the Scotch poet:

> "If you'd seen but these roads *before they were made*,
> You'd have held up your hands, and blessed General Wade."

It is true that לפני occurs on the Mesha' Stele with the same sense as in Hebrew, but we must not assume that it would be similar in Punic, seeing that Punic was not identical with Biblical Hebrew, but merely a closely related dialect. The great Sacrificial Inscription of Marseilles (*C.I.S.*, I, 165) is sufficient to show that the Punic preposition "before" was not לפני, because in line 13 we read יעמס פנת אלם *ya'amos panath 'elim* = "carried before the gods"; whereas in Hebrew this would have been לפני האלוהים *lifnē ha-'elohim*.

A still further discordance is to be found in the final י of the לפני of the Bir-bou-Rekba text. Punic is always written *defectiva*, that is to say, the vowels are never expressed. The final vowel of the construct state always appears in Hebrew orthography, never in Punic.

[1] *Ephemeris*, III, p. 58.

Consequently לפני cannot be merely the Biblical Hebrew *lifnē*, which would have been written in Punic as לפן. Our only alternative is to recognise that the י is the mark of a Punic pronoun—the third person singular—as, for instance, לאבי *l'abē* = "to his father" (*C.I.S.*, I, 58); בני *benē* = "her son" (*C.I.S.*, I, 92). Thus לפני can only mean "of his (or her) presence," from √פנה *paneh* = "face" or "presence."

At first sight it may seem strange for a pronoun to be attached to a noun in the construct state, but this can be easily paralleled from the Biblical Hebrew. Thus in Levit. vi, 3 (E.V. vi, 10), we have מדו בד *middō bad* = "his garment of linen"; Cant. iii, 7, מטתו שלשלמה *miṭaṯhō shel-Shelomoh* = "his litter of Solomon."

Lifnē ha-shaṯh zē would therefore be, literally, "of her presence this year" (*shaṯh* = "year" being a feminine noun) which we would express in English as "this same year" or, as M. Berger renders it "de l'année présente." There is no exactly similar phrase in Biblical Hebrew, but in poetical passages we have לפני שמש *lifnē shemesh*, and לפני ירח *lifnē yareaḥ* = "while the sun shines" and "while the moon lasts"; literally, "in the presence of the sun" and "in the presence of the moon" (see, for instance, Psalm lxxii, 5 and 17).

The idiom *lifnē ha-shaṯh zē*, "of this same year," is entirely in accordance with the style of the rest of the inscription, which is most careful to define everything, and repeats המקדשם אל *ha-mikdashim ēl*, "these shrines," and האלנם אל *ha-'elonim ēl*, "these gods," in order that there shall be no doubt about the matter of their identification.

It is therefore unnecessary to seek for any recondite explanation of the phrase. We may thank M. Berliner for a very interesting and stimulating discussion upon the Punic Calendar, but the Bir-bou-Rekba inscription can have no bearing upon that subject, and we are led back to the admirable rendering originally offered by M. Berger "au mois de Mofa' de l'année présente."

E. J. Pilcher.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Isolated facts of interest continue to come to hand touching conditions in Palestine and Syria, and in *The Near East* and elsewhere, occasional letters draw the veil. The Grand New Hotel in Jerusalem has been converted into a hospital of 250 beds, and the Russian Hospital is being used for the British wounded captured by the Turks. Various reports of the evacuation of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth and other cities have been current, especially after the British attack upon Gaza in the spring; but apart from Jaffa, where few civilians now remain, the cities, it is said through German pressure, are not to be evacuated by the Turks under any consideration. "In order to facilitate the carriage of provisions for the Palestine army, a fleet of lighters and boats, with steam-tugs, are working on the Dead Sea, transporting goods—especially corn—from Kevale to the north-western shores, whence some 200 autocars carry them to the fighting front."

From an escaped native, a correspondent in *The Near East* (7th September) learns, that "official statistics confirm the appalling loss of life in the Lebanon, and put down the total at 150,000, of whom ten per cent. died from disease and the remainder from starvation. Typhus fever appears to be still raging in Syria and the Lebanese littoral, and what is hardly credible, is not so much the almost utter lack of sanitary precautions as the absence of all control on the part of the Germans. On the top of this there is a serious shortage of medicines and doctors."

The Daily Telegraph of the 23rd August contained a lengthy description by Mr. W. T. Massey of the discovery by the British forces of a richly-paved Christian church. The discovery was made by the Australians at Shellal, between Beersheba and Khan Yunus, and therefore on the main road from Jerusalem to Egypt. The keenest interest was aroused among the men themselves, and the utmost care was taken to safeguard it. The work was done under the direction of the Rev. W. Maitland Woods, senior chaplain (Church of England) of the Anzac and Mounted Division, and the party were often subject to the unwelcome attentions of the enemy's guns and suspicious aeroplanes. A fragmentary inscription relates that "this temple with spacious——(? foundations) was built by our most holy——(? bishop) and most pious George——in the year 622 according to——(? the era of) Gaza." Under the inscription were found the bones of the saint; his identity is uncertain, and the original suggestion that the founder was St. George himself does not bear investigation. The whole mosaic consisted of some 8,000 pieces of mosaic, of which not one stone was lost; and one of the features of Mr. Massey's account is the description of the careful and ingenious methods by which, in the midst of all the military preparations, this piece of archaeological labour was effectively completed. Some further account of the discovery may be anticipated later. It may be added that a letter in the following issue of *The Daily Telegraph* recalled the fact that George is among the commonest and most beloved of names in Eastern Christendom, thus adding to the other objections against the identity of the buried saint; but "when our troops have advanced another forty miles northwards towards Lydda they may come, perhaps, within the very patrimony of the soldier patron of England and of many other countries."

Palestine: The Organ of the British Palestine Committee, recognising the importance of the geography of Palestine for all questions of its future—and also incidentally hinting at the neglect of this subject by those who discuss its political prospects—devotes one of its numbers (21st July) to the reproduction of a map of Palestine with contours, Jewish colonies, communications, and an inset map showing the relation of the land to the great routes in the surrounding countries. Other numbers have contained a survey of

what is popularly though erroneously called *the* Hauran. The issue of 15th September contains a brief account of the Negeb from the geographical and economic points of view.

An interesting article on "Britain, Palestine and the Jews," appeared in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* of 26th June. It is an account of sea and land routes to the East, and although it is mainly concerned with political and topical problems, it is one of the many indications of the increasing interest in the "Holy Land." Where so many controversial questions arise and opinions so frequently differ, it is much to be hoped that this deeper interest will take a practical form in assisting those societies and undertakings which have for their aim the accurate and systematic investigation, without favour or prejudice, of all that relates to the Holy Land. Even some of the old Arabian historians themselves were able to realise that various ascertained constant psychological and other factors were responsible for a certain uniformity in historical and other conditions: and these are of a sort to be taken into consideration in all plans for the future, however attractive and inspiring from a religious or idealistic point of view.

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. The year 1915, being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter

tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s.* Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s.*

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1916 is published in the Annual Report now issued.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology : Vol. XXXIX, 5 : Index of South Arabian Proper Names (*continued*), by Rev. W. T. Pilter ; etc.

The Geographical Journal, July, 1917 : Palestine, Its Resources and Suitability for Colonization, by E. W. G. Masterman, M.D., F.R.C.S., D.P.H.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine.

Studies, an Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, September, 1917 : Ancient Babylon, by P. Boylan ; etc.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XXI, 1914–15, 1915–16.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, 1917 : The Physical Character of the Arabs, by Dr. C. G. Seligman ; etc.

The Athenaeum : Subject Index to Periodicals, 1916.

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The Holy Scriptures: A New Translation, with the aid of previous versions and with constant consultation of Jewish authorities; and *The Story of Bible Translations*, by Max L. Margolis. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.)

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July, 1917: Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals, by Prof. Julian Margenstein; etc.

See further below, pp. 187–192.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

Presented by Mrs. Ross Scott :—

Two Years in Palestine and Syria, by Margaret Thomas.

Out-of-Doors in the Holy Land, by Henry Van Dyke.

Walks about Jerusalem, by W. H. Bartlett.

A Relation of a Journey; containing a Description of the Turkish Empire of Egypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote Parts of Italy and Islands adjoyning, by George Sandys. 1673.

The Holy City, by George Williams, B.D. The Second Edition, with additions, including an Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by the Rev. Robert Willis, M.A., F.R.S., 2 Vols., leather bound, gold crests, coat-of-arms, and lettering. Illustrated. 1849.

Sandy's Travels, containing an History of the Original and Present State of the Turkish Empire, etc. 1673.

The Waters of Egypt, by Norma Lorrimer.

Via Cornwall to Egypt, by C. F. Gordon-Cumming.

The Spell of Egypt, by Robert Hichens.

Giant Cities of Bashan, by Rev. J. J. Porter.

Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia, by G. Belzoni. Second Edition. 1821.

Presented by Professor Hull :—

The City and the Land.

Heth and Moab, by Colonel Conder.

The Resources of Modern Countries, by A. J. Wilson. 1878.

Himalayan Journals, by Sir Joseph Hooker. 1855.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, kindly write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1917, *p.* 17.)

The General Characteristics of the Different Towns.

III.—The Sister-towns Ramleh and Lydda.[1]

Er-Ramleh (الرملة), during the many centuries when Jaffa was a ruin, or of little importance, was the capital of Palestine; and, in fact, from the destruction of Jaffa in A.D. 1267 to about the middle of the nineteenth century it was a very important town, until the government seat was transferred to Jaffa. In 1325 the Tangiers' traveller, Ibn Batuta, calls it "the greater Palestine":—

"The town of Ramleh, which is Palestine, a great city with many choice riches and fine markets."[2] More than a century later Bertrandon de la Broquière says: "it is a very commercial town in a fertile plain." It has been destroyed and rebuilt ever since its foundation in the seventh or eighth century, and the name itself has been altered from (*probably*) Ram to Ramlet, not on account of the sand (رمل), as is so often repeated, but on account of a complete defeat of the inhabitants, who had resisted the Egyptian Khalif, and were put to death leaving but *widows* (ارملة) and called "the widowed" (المرملة). The tradition exists among the inhabitants. Like many other towns, Ramleh can only boast of its past greatness, and the many ruined mosques and palaces tell of its beauty. Salah ed-Din often came to stay in Ramleh, and the White Mosque, one of the best preserved ruins of those days, is a witness to the glory of the past.

[1] [It will of course be borne in mind that all these sketches were written several years ago.—Ed.]

[2] Madinat er-Ramlet wahī Falastīn Madinat Kabirat Kathirat el-Khirat hassanat el-aswak.

Of the present 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants, 3,500 are Mohammedans, about 1,000 or 1,200 Greek Church Christians, and the rest immigrated Latin Church Christians, Protestants, and Jews: these latter since 1889 only. In the days of Benjamin of Tudela there was a considerable Jewish cemetery, which he says was *two miles* in circumference—a statement which seems rather exaggerated. The inhabitants like to talk of its greatness and show traces of its ancient walls almost a mile to the west.

The indigenous inhabitants may be divided into three distinct classes: the Arab, the Egyptian and the Philistine. The North Africans who are numerous are considered as strangers, though many have been settled here since the French occupation of Algeria, and are almost considered as inhabitants. The children talk Ramleh Arabic.

The Arab effendis are the wealthy class. They possess the lands round about the town and almost all the fine olive-groves, the present source of wealth of the town. They hold the lands by right of first occupants, when, after a destruction by the Mamlukes of Egypt, they re-entered the town, and claiming descent from Khalid and Husain, took possession at a time when nobody cared to possess land. The impenetrable groves were the haunt of wild beasts and robbers, and this increased the security of uncontested ownership. The effendis are in charge of the standard of Rubin with all the incomes and expenses depending on the shrine and the yearly fair held on the borders of Rubin in September. Through their influence Ramleh has been comparatively safe from massacres of Christians during the last century, and if we except the massacre of the male Christians and the sale of the females which followed the retreat of Bonaparte in 1799, and which was done by the fanatics of Nablūs and Hebron, the town can be called the quietest and safest in Palestine.

The richer effendis would only have lost their wealth if they had excited the mob, which had nothing to lose, and the poor Christians had nothing to give but their lives, which after all, would be no satisfaction to them, as the Christians were scribes and faithful stewards of the money lent to the peasants and poorer classes. Although the earlier state of affairs has ceased, and the Christians are no more in their old state of slavery, yet the effendis are still the honoured and, to some degree, mighty class of Ramleh, and have not altogether forgotten their feudal rights.

The Egyptians and Philistines are a very low class of individuals, principally camel-drivers and farmers, both callings well suited to make them courageous, independent and daring. As townspeople they have the common wit and all their vices; as camel-drivers they know the roads and the wayfaring people, as well as all their habits; bringing packages and goods to the magazines and houses, they know also the interiors of the latter and the wealth there collected; and finally, as farmers, they have an excuse for being always out of doors. This mode of life has led many of them to be robbers and burglars, and quite recently (1900) they have managed so dexterously, that the burglars themselves have been placed as guardians in the streets of the town; and what is worse they know the dread of the stricter town population, and sometimes murder them without fearing their vengeance. They are strong and adroit workers, are the most impudent liars, and do not care a snap for a word given. Honour in this sense is altogether unknown, and anyone who has the misfortune to be obliged to employ them must tolerate them philosophically. The very brown and scanty-bearded fellows (the younger people shave the beards) generally carry loads from Jaffa to Jerusalem on their camels in winter, and look after their farm lands in summer and autumn. From June to September, the vast threshing floor east of Ramleh is alive with them.

The North Africans live under an acknowledged chief and form a stricter community than in any other place, and whether of Tripoli or Morocco they all accept the name of Maghraby. Though they worship at times in the great mosque, *Jame el-Kebīr* (جامع الكبير), yet they have lately repaired one of the numerous mosques, the *Sheikh Risslan* (شيخ رسلان), for themselves, in 1891 as they belong to the Malki sect. They have a language of their own called *Shilh*, a Kabyle dialect, which they only use when they are in the presence of those whom they do not want to be able to understand them. Divorce being an easy matter, they marry from the lower classes of Egyptians and Philistines, for the Arabs—not only the effendi class but also the merchants—do not give their daughters to those strangers with unknown antecedents. Being generally on their homeward journey from Mecca (though I have known several for fifteen years in that state) they are all called Haj, and as they have brought spices and unknown ingredients from Arabia, with

a little knowledge of reading and writing, they practice as doctors, sorcerers and so forth, and avoid all manual labour which they detest. Whenever I wanted a guardian for the lands or crops I used to send my Maghraby to look for one; presently, he would be back with "one of his best friends—a very honest man" with many other good qualities. On such recommendation I accept him and would have him registered, but then came the answer: "Well, I don't know his name, he has just arrived from Egypt or Mecca," and it turns out that he has not been so inquisitive as to ask for his name!

Newcomers were usually better than the old ones, as they stood very many hardships and were possibly short of money, so for a few months everything was very smooth, but never for a longer period, as they love their complete liberty and independence more than anything else. They only hire themselves for a time in order to move further with a few medjidis in their pockets. They are often French troopers, and carry their passport in the small leather bag which contains all their valuables. In spite of their French claim for outward protection they are more fanatical Moslems than the inhabitants of Palestine. Of the four nations with whom they have more or less to do, they respect the Turks as representatives of the Moslem power on earth, and having the Sultan as Khalif. The French are the nation affording them protection, but as they have taken their country there is a mingled feeling of support and fierce hatred. The Spaniards are spoken of with contempt for their not being able to subdue Morocco, but still sometimes do business with them. The English, especially for the reputation as a powerful seafaring nation and the impregnable fortress of Gibraltar, are spoken of with awe. But of real sympathy or preference for one or the other, there is absolutely none, all being simply Rumis, and profoundly hated by every good Moslem. Their love of visiting shrines and of travelling in all Arabic-speaking countries makes them keenly inventive as to how to get money, and the credulity of the natives is easily put to contribution by the sly pilgrims, as can be seen in the following adventure.

Sheikh Othman's Adventure.

Sheikh Othman, a man of about fifty years, had the honour of being descending from the Prophet's family, and as such enjoyed

the privilege of wearing the green turban. But he was not very wealthy and had to work for his daily bread. One of his forefathers died with the reputation of a saint, and was buried in his own lands between Ramleh and Lydda, where a small mosque was built, and Sheikh Othman was in charge of the grave of his ancestor Sheikh 'Ali. Though Othman was only a shoemaker, he was very proud of his descent, and together with the product of his work and a little more income from several gardens, he brought up his family decently and was considered a wealthy man in Ramleh. A wily Maghraby, having asked as many particulars as he could about his family, came to him and without any introduction saluted him: "Peace be on thee, Sheikh Othman son of Othman, well-named and destined by thy noble descent to sit on the Ottoman throne, and not a shoemaker's stool; treasures are awaiting thee in thy property, go and take them." Sheikh Othman listened and inquired about this curious prediction. "I am Haj Sleiman Ben Ahmad Abu Mohammed," answered the African, "and having struck the sand, I found that in the crypts below the spot (*makām*) where your venerable ancestor Sheikh 'Ali was buried are undreamt of riches, which can be had on any Thursday evening by whosoever wishes to receive them, provided he performs certain indispensable formulas." Othman was astonished that a stranger knew so much about himself and his ancestors, and at once believed every word, and said he had no objection whatever. Haj Sleiman offered to show him a part of the riches, and accordingly on the very next Thursday night he took him there and showed him behind a cloud of artificial fireworks many glittering things.

Sheikh Othman retired well satisfied, but Haj Sleiman told him that his riches were kept back by a dozen ghosts who were quite naked and could be bribed by receiving earthly clothes such as the people in Ramleh wore, that is, the red silk shirt and white underclothes, caps, turbans and red shoes from his shop. Naturally enough food had to be prepared for the reception. Moreover, everything was to be kept as secret as possible, and as the ghosts (who for the occasion would be transformed into bodyguards for the new Sultan) had no money about them, they were to receive a trifle of ten or fifteen pounds each as pocket money to start with in this new life. Finally, a divulgement of the secret to anybody would immediately destroy the whole scheme and the treasures would be lost.

So Othman secretly mortgaged his lands to raise the money and provided the twelve "suits of garments," which are inevitable in every feast. The cauldrons were put up, rice and meat were set a boiling, and bread was not wanting. As the muezzin called out for the midnight prayers on the distant minaret of the Great Jame' in Ramleh, twelve naked bronze figures seemed to arise from the fumes of the fire which Haj Sleiman had kindled in the porch, and incense was spreading its odours. Drums and cymbals announced the disclosure of the treasures, and Sheikh Othman, who had big sacks with him, was told to gather his property, which he, in a lordly manner, declined to do till he had clothed "his own" bodyguards and when they had eaten. When supper was over every man-ghost received his share in terrestrial pounds, the music became more intense, and Sheikh 'Ali, the noble ancestor, was invoked in frantic rounds and dances while the whirling ghosts knocked and jostled each other, bowing reverently before "their lord and master," uttering very unhuman voices. At last the treasures began to spring up and heap themselves before his astonished eyes, and he now joined the wild dances and whirled round and jumped about until he remembered no more what happened, except that he awoke when day was dawning and found himself lying alone and cold in the porch of the *makām*. Empty sacks and cauldrons were there, the ashes long ago cooled down, but Haj Sleiman and the bodyguard had disappeared. Sheikh Othman came back to his shop, and for many weeks kept repeating the words "I saw it with my own eyes, nobody told me so." He had lost his money and his senses, till after two years he felt his reason creeping back, and took to shoemaking again, which he continued till his death, when he left the shop to his sons as the ancient Egyptians did.

As regards the Christians. By an edict of Sultan Mutawakkil, A.D. 847, the Christians and Jews had to be distinguished from the true believers by wearing a black turban and a leather girdle; they were not allowed to ride on horses (donkeys were allowed), nor were they permitted the use of iron stirrups. Linen, silk, or woollen girdles were worn by the Moslems, just as by the Hebrew priests, who also had linen girdles (Ex. xxviii, 4, *et seq.*). The Christians, as well as the Jews, are now emancipated, and every one is clothed as he chooses, yet the Ramleh Christians, mostly belonging to the Greek Church, now only differ from the Moham-

medans in wearing no turban at all. The Roman Catholics and other Christians (very few until recently) are more emancipated. Many of the Christians are gold, silver, copper or tin-smiths, grocers and oil manufacturers. They have received a slight education, yet there are but few who really know how to read and write, but they can all calculate with astonishing accuracy, remembering the minutest details as long as it appertains to sums received or spent. Now-a-days they wear the tarbush only, without the turban, and red shoes without stockings, leaving the calf of the leg bare, as they have very short trousers. The women are hardly distinguishable from their Moslem sisters, as they are always veiled out of doors and have the izar round their bodies. On Sundays they go for a walk along the road, and share all the superstitions and beliefs (outside of their catechism) of the wonderful and supernatural appearances of good and bad jinns.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE CHURCHES OF JERUSALEM FOUNDED BEFORE A.D. 1099.[1]

By the late COLONEL SIR CHARLES WATSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., R.E., etc.

IT is somewhat to be regretted that the word "church," in the English language has several different meanings, which sometimes lead to a confusion of ideas. For example, it would be correct to say that there was a Christian church in Jerusalem prior to the siege of that city by the Emperor Titus in A.D. 70, and it would also be allowable to say that there was no church in Jerusalem before that date. The word may be used to express the body of Christians in a particular town or country, or for the assembly of the believers, or for the place where such an assembly was held, or, lastly, to denote a building specially designed and erected for the

[1] [Although Sir Charles Watson did not live to complete this essay, these "Notes" are too useful to be left unprinted, and the MS. has been printed as it left his hands and without the benefit of any modifications which he may have wished to make.—ED.]

purpose of Christian worship. It is in the last sense only that I shall employ the word "church," in the following short *résumé* of the history of the churches in Jerusalem before the occupation of the city by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099.

This history may conveniently be divided into certain distinct periods, which are as follows:—

A.D.

30–325.—This includes the three centuries which passed between the date of the Crucifixion and the foundation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Emperor Constantine.

325–540.—From the building of Constantine's churches to the time of the erection of the Church of St. Mary by the Emperor Justinian.

540–637.—From the reign of Justinian to the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in A.D. 614, and its surrender to the Khalif Omar in A.D. 637.

637–1099.—The period of Mohammedan rule up to the foundation of the Christian kingdom under Godfrey de Bouillon.

For the sake of distinction, the churches built before A.D. 1099 may be called the old churches, and those first erected, after the Christian occupation, the mediaeval churches; with the latter I do not propose to deal in this paper.

For the early history of the old churches the materials which are available are principally contained in the statements of Christian writers, and of pilgrims who visited Jerusalem, and in a study of the remains which have been discovered by exploration. It may be a help to those who are interested in the study to have the facts with which we are acquainted put together in a brief form, but it must be allowed that, as regards certain questions, our knowledge is deficient, and there are some points which cannot be regarded as satisfactorily settled.

When the Apostles returned to Jerusalem after the Ascension of Jesus Christ, they assembled with the rest of the followers of the Lord in the upper chamber of the house where they lodged, and it is possible that they continued to occupy this house, and that it was the same as that to which the Apostle Paul came after his release from prison, which, in Acts xii, 12, is referred to as the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark. But whether this was so or not, it is reasonable to say that there is nothing in

the Acts of the Apostles to lead us to suppose that, within the limits of the time contained in that book, the Christians in Jerusalem either could or would have erected a special building for assembly and worship; being Jews, they regarded the Temple as the proper place for public devotions.

The history of the progress of Christianity, as given in the Acts, ends with the trial and banishment of St. Paul to Rome, probably in the year A.D. 61. Shortly afterwards, the Jewish rebellion against the Romans broke out, and the Christians in Jerusalem, in accordance with the instructions of their Master, left the city, and settled at Pella, a town on the east of Jordan, where they appear to have remained during the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus in A.D. 70. Then the Temple and the fortifications were overthrown, the houses were levelled to the ground, and the inhabitants carried away into captivity, while a camp for the 10th Roman legion was constructed on one part of the city. It is doubtful whether the Christians, who were mostly Jews, would have been allowed to return, and it is more probable that none came back until after the second Jewish rebellion in A.D. 130, and its suppression, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a Roman city, with the name of Ælia Capitolina, by the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 136. According to Eusebius, the Christians who then returned were Gentiles only, as the entry of Jews was totally prohibited, and the bishop of the brethren in Jerusalem was Marcus, a Greek.

There is no information as to whether the Gentile Christians built a church for worship, but it seems improbable that they should have been allowed to do so, as Jerusalem was a Roman colony and a pagan city. There is no reference to such a church in the History of Eusebius, or in other early writers, and, though in after years, there was a tradition that a church had been erected on the site of the house where the Apostles assembled after the Ascension of Jesus Christ, this cannot be regarded as a certain proof that such a church existed. If it did, it must have been destroyed during the persecution, which commenced in A.D. 302 in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, when, in accordance with an imperial edict, all places of Christian worship throughout the Roman empire were demolished, as no mention of such a church is given in the description of Jerusalem by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited Palestine in A.D. 333, when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was in course of construction.

Epiphanius,[1] who wrote about A.D. 370, relates the tradition regarding the original Church of Sion in the following words:—"He (*i.e.*, the Emperor Hadrian) arrived at the most famous and noble city of Jerusalem, which was laid waste by Titus, the son of Vespasian, in the second year of his reign. He found the whole city razed to the ground, and the Temple of the Lord trodden under foot, there being only a few houses standing, and the Church of God, a small building on the place where the disciples, on their return from the Mount of Olives after the Saviour's Ascension, assembled in the upper chamber. This was built in the part of Sion which had escaped destruction, together with some buildings round about Sion, and seven synagogues that stood alone in Sion like cottages, one of which remained standing down to the time of Bishop Maximus and the Emperor Constantine, 'like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,' in the words of Scripture. Now Hadrian meditated the restoration of the city, but not of the Temple. He appointed the aforesaid Aquila to superintend the works connected with the building of the city. He gave the city his own name and the use of the imperial title; for, as he was named Ælius Hadrianus, he named the city Ælia."

It is to be regretted that Epiphanius did not say whether, according to tradition, this church on Sion was allowed to remain when Hadrian rebuilt the city in A.D. 136, or whether it was destroyed during the great persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Diocletian in A.D. 302, but, in any case, it had ceased to exist when the Holy Sepulchre was discovered by order of Constantine, as it is not mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim,[2] who relates what he saw on Sion in the following words:—"Also as you come out of Jerusalem (*i.e.*, the eastern hill, on which the Temple had stood) to go up Mount Sion (*i.e.*, the western hill) on the left hand, below in the valley, is a Pool which is called Siloe, and has four porticoes; and there is another large pool outside it. This spring runs for six days and nights, but, on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, it does not run at all, either by day or by night. On this side one goes up Sion, and sees where the house of Caiaphas the priest was, and there still stands a column against which Christ was beaten with rods. Within, now even, inside the wall of Sion, is seen the place where was David's palace. Of seven synagogues which

[1] Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Pondibus*, XIV.

[2] *The Bordeaux Pilgrim*, p. 22 (Palestine Pilgrims' Texts), Vol. I.

once were there, one alone remains; the rest are ploughed over and sown upon, as said Isaiah the Prophet. From thence, as you go out of the wall of Sion, as you walk toward the gate of Neapolis, towards the right, below in the valley, are walls, where was the house or praetorium of Pontius Pilate, where our Lord was tried before His Passion. On the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified. About a stone's throw from thence is a crypt, wherein His body was laid and rose again on the third day. There, at present, by the command of the Emperor Constantine, has been built a basilica, that is to say a church, of wondrous beauty, having at the side cisterns from which water is raised, and a bath behind in which infants are baptized."

Then, after describing the way out of Jerusalem into the Valley of Josaphat (*i.e.*, the Kedron), the Pilgrim says:—"From thence, you ascend to the Mount of Olives, where, before the Passion, the Lord taught His disciples. There, by the orders of Constantine, a basilica of wondrous beauty has been built."

It is evident from this account that, at the time of the Pilgrim's visit, the only churches in Jerusalem were those in course of erection by order of Constantine, and that there was no church on Sion, as, if there had been, he could hardly have failed to see it.

Eusebius also, who, in his *Life of Constantine*,[1] gave a full, though not a very clear, account of the churches built by Constantine in Jerusalem, makes no mention of the existence of a church on Sion, and this, while it does not prove that there was no such church, confirms the idea that there was none at the time that the Holy Sepulchre was discovered by order of the emperor.

The circumstances connected with the search for the Holy Sepulchre have been so often related that it is unnecessary to repeat them here, and those who wish for information on the subject may be referred to the work entitled *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, by the late Sir Charles Wilson, in which the details connected with the recovery of the Tomb, believed to be that in which the body of the Lord Jesus was laid after the Crucifixion, Calvary and the Three Crosses are fully described.[2] It was shortly after the Council of Nice in A.D. 325 that Bishop Macarius carried out the excavations and reported his discoveries to the emperor, who then issued orders

[1] Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine* (Palestine Pilgrims' Texts), Vol. I.

[2] Major-General Sir C. W. Wilson, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, Chap. IX.

for the construction of the churches. This date may therefore be taken as the commencement of the first period of church-building in Jerusalem.

First Period.—A.D. 325–540.

There has been considerable difference of opinion with regard to the form of the churches erected by order of Constantine in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre, and several plans have been suggested as reconstructions of the original design. Of these, the one that agrees best with the descriptions of Eusebius and other authors, is that shown in the admirable work on the topography and history of Jerusalem by Fathers H. Vincent and F. M. Abel,[1] whose knowledge of the site and of the few fragments of masonry which appear to have formed part of the original churches, is probably greater than that of any one else at the present time, and their treatise on the subject should be carefully studied by those who wish to understand the question, but is too long to quote in full.

When the ground, in which the Holy Sepulchre was supposed to be situated, was excavated in A.D. 325, two discoveries were made: the first being that of a rock-cut tomb in the hill slope, and the second that of a cave, about 270 feet east of the tomb, in which there were three crosses, believed by the explorers to have been those upon which the Lord Jesus Christ and the two thieves were crucified. The early accounts of the transaction differ considerably, and it is not easy to decide whether the tomb or the crosses were first found, or whether the former or the latter was regarded as the most important. Eusebius, for example in *The Life of Constantine*, who wrote about A.D. 338, deals more particularly with the Sepulchre, whereas Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History*, written about A.D. 440, lays more stress on the discovery of the three crosses, which he says were found by the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, who was in Jerusalem at the time. But, whatever may have been the truth, there can be no doubt with regard to the general arrangement of the churches built in commemoration of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus.

In the first place the hill was cut down and a level area formed, the tomb being left intact and isolated; over this a memorial building was erected, known as the Anastasis or Basilica of the

[1] Fathers H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem, Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéology, et d'Histoire*. See Vol. II (Plates).

Resurrection. Then, to the west of this, a larger church was built over the cave in which the three crosses were found, called the Martyrium or Basilica of the Cross, probably built on a similar plan to that of the Basilica over the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The Martyrium has disappeared with the exception of the crypt, known at the present time as the Chapel of St. Helena. Between the Anastasis and Martyrium there was an open space in which a little hill or mound was left, which was called Calvary, as it was believed that it was on this that the three crosses were set up at the Crucifixion. The whole of the area upon which were the two churches and Calvary was surrounded with a colonnade, and the principal entrance to the sacred enclosure was at the eastern end. A general idea of the arrangement is given on a mosaic said to date originally from the fourth century, which is in the Church of St. Pudenziana, one of the oldest churches in Rome. In this picture the Martyrium is shown on the right and the Anastasis on the left, while between the two is the hill of Calvary, surmounted by the Cross—both mound and Cross greatly exaggerated in size—thus confirming the idea that it was the Cross rather than the Sepulchre which was regarded as the principal object of veneration at the time of the erection of Constantine's churches. Besides the two churches in Jerusalem, Eusebius relates that two other churches were built by order of the Empress Helena, one, that at Bethlehem already referred to, and the other on the ridge of the Mount of Olives, over the cave in which Jesus Christ taught his disciples. These churches were, therefore, all built over sacred caves; the Martyrium over the Cave of Golgotha in which the crosses were found; the Anastasis over the Cave of the Resurrection; the Eleona, or church on the Mount of Olives, over the cave of the Lord's teaching; and, lastly, the Basilica at Bethlehem, over the Cave of the Nativity. These are the only churches in, or near, Jerusalem which appear to have existed during the early part of the fourth century.

Towards the close of the fourth century Jerusalem was visited by two lady pilgrims, and fortunately the accounts of their travels have been preserved.

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

By Estelle Blyth.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1917, *p.* 137.)

The battle of Arsuf was the Hospitallers' greatest achievement in Palestine; after the fall of Acre (1291) they won much glory, but in other lands. Only seven of them, including the Grand Master, John de Villiers, survived Acre, and managed to reach Cyprus in safety. The seven held sad conclave together under the presidency of the Grand Master, whose fine little speech has come down to us. "My dear Brethren, Jerusalem has fallen, as you know, under the tyranny of the Saracens. A mighty power has forced us little by little out of the Holy Land. For more than an age past we have been compelled to fight as many battles as we have defended places. St. Jean d'Acre is the latest witness of our efforts, and almost all our knights lie buried beneath the ruins of that great city. Brethren, it is for you to fill the places of those who have been lost to the Order. It is your valour that must bring about our return to the Holy Land. You hold in your hands the lives, not only of our Order, but of the great number of our fellow Christians who now groan under slavery to the Saracens." Each knight solemnly pledged himself to the restoration of the Order and the recovery of the Holy Land. One's heart warms at the faith and courage of these seven homeless men, who, having just lost all, could yet pledge themselves to the work of restoration and re-building.

The Order settled at Limassol, which they re-fortified; churches and hospitals were built both there and elsewhere in the island. The banishment of the Order from Palestine led to the increase of its international power. It was divided into seven Langues (of England, France, Italy, Aragon, Provence, Auvergne, Germany), and the chief offices of the Order were apportioned amongst them, our English

dignitary being the Turcopolier, or Commander of Light Horse. Originally "the Turkopoles were light armed native horse, with long cane lances such as are still used by the Arabs" (Conder's *Latin Kingdom*, p. 211), the word being a compound of "Turk" and "poulain," the descendants of mixed marriages in the early days of the Christian Kingdom. The Cypriot king's jealousy of the growing power of the Order was probably the main reason that the knights left the island; but in any case Cyprus was not sufficiently in the centre of Turco-Christian warfare to have been much longer a convenient base. Having captured the Island of Rhodes (1310), together with some of the small adjacent islands, they established themselves in great strength, and were often called the Knights of Rhodes. The Hospitallers were an outpost of Christianity in face of the encroachments of the Turkish Empire; but though they were perpetually at war, the other objects of their foundation—care of the sick, defence of pilgrims, protection of the weak—were never forgotten or neglected. They built a strong castle at Rhodes called St. Peter of the Freed, for the use of Christian prisoners and slaves whom they rescued from Saracen ships; and dogs were trained to search for slaves who had escaped from Saracen masters. From this period dates the rise of their naval power, which lasted for over four centuries. The fleet carried on a bold and successful warfare, attacking Saracen vessels, and even entering Saracen harbours in search of Christian captives. On one occasion a sultan of Egypt tried to make a pact with them, by which his ports and ships were left alone; but the terms of the Hospitallers were too hard to be accepted. They demanded the right to surround the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with a wall, safe residence at Jerusalem, without taxation, for six knights to look after the interests of pilgrims, the opening of all the holy places, and the power to free Christian slaves by repaying the price paid for them, or by exchanging a Saracen prisoner. The sultan objected to these proud terms, and attacked Rhodes not long after; but he had to withdraw in the end, considerably the worse for the attempt.

The presence of the knights in Rhodes was an obstacle to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, and the warfare between the two was bitter and incessant. The Sultan Bajazet almost wiped out the Order, and then set his mind to wrest Constantinople from the Greeks. The Greek Emperor was foolish enough to beseech the aid of Tamerlane, that Tartar chieftain who lived up so entirely to his

own motto, "A king is never safe unless the foot of his throne swims in blood!" Tamerlane overthrew Bajazet, and found himself temptingly near Smyrna, which fell after a spirited defence by the Hospitallers. These experiences with Bajazet and Tamerlane no doubt caused the knights to increase the defences of Rhodes, and they built a triple line of fortifications, with thirteen large towers, and a very deep surrounding moat.

The great siege of Rhodes was that ordered by Mohammed II (May–July, 1480), when a force of 160 ships and 80,000 men hurled itself against the dauntless island. There are three interesting little points to be noted in connection with this siege. Mohammed II possessed a great many cannon which had been cast at Adrianople (the Turkish capital) by a Bulgarian. This man had previously offered his services to the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, who refused to have anything to do with him or his cannon, partly because they were new, and partly because he was too miserly to give the man their price. So the Bulgarian turned to Mohammed II, who gladly met his terms in every way; and, having used the cannon very successfully in the capture of Constantinople, expected them to serve him as usefully in the capture of Rhodes. The Ottoman commander-in chief was a renegade Greek, Paleologos Pasha; and the chief engineer was a renegade German, through whose treachery the island was nearly lost to the Christians. He deceived many of the knights by pretending that he was a Christian captive, escaped from the Turkish host, and begged to be allowed to use his arm and his skill in the service of the Christian city; but some of the older knights, suspicious of his lamentable tale, watched him, and discovered him sending information to the Turks of the defences of Rhodes and the Christian plans. He was promptly put to death. Against these three incidents I cannot help recording the self-sacrificing courage of an English sailor on one of the knights' ships. This man, by name Rogers, actually swam out to sea, and cut the ropes of a mighty floating bridge by which the Turks were advancing to attack one of the forts, and the unwieldy thing was carried by the waves in a contrary direction, and lost. After three months' furious fighting, which cost the Turks nearly 30,000 men, and the Order many of its finest members, the enemy raised the siege in despair. The Grand Master, Sir Peter d'Aubusson, "the darling and delight of his knights, the sword and buckler of Christendom," was universally honoured for the magnificence of his defence; he

also received a cardinal's hat from the Pope, which somehow seems rather a curious reward for valour.

The Turks, however, were set on taking Rhodes for the stability of their own empire, and in 1522, Sulieman II, the Magnificent, (the builder of the beautiful walls of Jerusalem), sent an even greater armament against the island, consisting of 400 ships and 200,000 men. The siege began on June 20th and closed on December 18th, after a most heroic defence by the Grand Master Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, with the surrender of the fortress. "Nothing in the world has been so well lost as Rhodes!" said Charles V of Spain, when the full story of that great struggle reached Europe; and to show his admiration for their valour he gave the Hospitallers the Island of Malta (October, 1530). I believe the original Deed is still preserved there, signed after the proud Spanish way by Charles himself, "Yo El Rey."

Malta was not an encouraging place to look at after the rich beauties of Rhodes. It was small and barren, in parts a little like the Holy Land, but the dull brown earth had not the same promise of fertility as the deep red soil of Palestine. The Hospitallers, however, took note of the magnificent harbour, and of the island's many advantages from a military point of view, and they built and fortified, they planted and sowed, until they had made Malta what it is still to-day—one of the chief watchtowers of the Mediterranean.

Thirty five years later the Ottoman fleet was arrayed against Malta, and there began that memorable defence of the island which is one of the many glories of the Order of St. John. The knights hung a great chain across the harbour entrance, which kept the Turkish vessels from coming too close in, but even so they were able to launch one fierce attack after another, never failing to do great damage. The battered walls of the fortress of St. Elmo were held tenaciously by the Hospitallers to the very end; the few survivors of the garrison received the Holy Communion at midnight, each man, after that solemn committal of his body and soul to the God of Battles, going straight back to his post, to await what they all knew must be the last assault. For four hours they held out, but numbers prevailed in the end, and the Turks rushed the place, finding therein not fifty living men, and certainly not one unwounded; some of these were crucified, or strung up by the feet till they died, but a few of the knights were held to ransom. John de la Valette, the Grand Master, and his companions in the

other forts, in bitterness of soul watched the standard of the Order being torn down by the exultant foe. They could not help their brethren, but no doubt the loss of St. Elmo stiffened their own resistance; and on the 8th September the Turkish forces sullenly raised the siege, despairing of victory over such indomitable men. Malta was a heap of ruins, the Order of St. John a mere fragment of its old self, but the island had been saved from that sluggish and barren existence which has been the lot of Rhodes under Ottoman rule.

Another heavy blow had been dealt the Order a few years previously. In 1538, Henry VIII, being now Defender of the Faith, transferred to himself certain rights, privileges, and emoluments of the Hospitallers which the Sovereign Order was by no means disposed to forego. The seizure of the property of the English Langue ensued, coupled with some persecution of the members, many of whom were put to death or imprisoned, whilst others, in a state of absolute destitution, escaped to Malta, where they were fraternally received by their more fortunate brethren. Brighter days dawned with the accession of Mary I, but the hopes then raised were speedily blighted by Elizabeth, who, in one sweep, appropriated such property of the English Langue as had escaped her father.

In Malta, however, the Order continued in proud independence, steadily growing richer and more powerful, until in 1798, the French Republic (having already annexed all the property of the Langue in France, and sent many of the knights to the guillotine as aristocrats), despatched Napoleon Bonaparte to Malta with a fleet, to suppress the Order in its stronghold. Treachery amongst the Maltese, and even amongst the knights themselves, together with the fatuous incapacity of the Grand Master, Ferdinand von Hompesch, gave the island into the hand of Bonaparte. The Order was given three days in which to quit the home of three centuries. Whilst in Malta, Napoleon also annexed a good deal of treasure in the shape of jewels, relics, and historical documents, though the rich silver gates in the cathedral escaped his eye, having been painted over by the knights, so that they seemed of little value. In 1800 Malta was taken by the English fleet.

Napoleon broke up the great Order of the Knights Hospitallers. The futile attempt of Paul I of Russia to resuscitate it, with himself as Grand Master, came to nought. The Sovereign Order could

never again be Sovereign. Abandoning for ever its proud independence and its great temporal power, the Order re-dedicated itself to the service of the sick; and its golden record in this respect, and especially during the war, shows us what a strong and vigorous life still animates it. We look back with wonder and with pride at the long roll of the Order's fame, and we remember the days when its shining ranks went out to battle for the Cross in Palestine. It was always the bulwark of Christendom against every danger that menaced the Faith, as it was quick to render service to the sick and the defenceless: it is now a golden link between the past and the present—between Jerusalem of the Christian kings and our own more prosaic days.

The knights' bones are dust,
And their good swords rust;
Their souls are with the saints, I trust.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

(*Concluded from Q.S.*, 1917, *p.* 125.)

A Story of Sheikh Badr in Jerusalem.

There is a *makām* near Jerusalem, where the road to 'Ain Kārim branches off from the Jaffa road, called Sheikh Badr. This Sheikh was one of the warriors in the train of Sultān Badr, and his name was formerly Badrān. Around this *makām* there are vineyards, and olive and fig trees; and in the summer many of the inhabitants of Lifta and Mālhah visit the spot. It is said that a man and his wife were once in a vineyard in the neighbourhood of the *makām*, and they found a mill-stone which they carried off. When those who looked after the vineyard found it had been taken, they questioned all the neighbours, but everyone denied any knowledge of the theft. After a time suspicion fell upon a certain man, and accordingly they asked him to take an oath of purgation at Sheikh Badr. This he did, although he was the real culprit, reassuring himself with the reflection that, if this Sheikh really had any power,

people would not have been able to rob the olive and fig trees attached to the *maḳām* as they had been doing.

When the grape harvest was over, the thief returned to his village; but as he was making a handle for the stolen mill-stone, the hammer which he was using fell on his foot and so injured it that, after five days, it became blue (*i.e.*, gangrenous) and he died. After a year his widow also died, and he left no descendant except a girl, and she is blind.

A Story of Sheikh 'Aisa.

There was a man once who opened an eating-house near the Jaffa Gate at Jerusalem; and, as his was the only restaurant in the vicinity, he prospered greatly. Another man who had a similar but less prosperous shop at the Damascus Gate, made up his mind to take a vacant shop near the Jaffa Gate, and to outrival the restaurant already there. The owner of the latter said to himself: "Is not the business at the Damascus Gate enough for this man? Why should he come to my neighbourhood and spoil my business?" So, when the day's work was over, he went home in a surly mood. His wife, seeing him in this unusual condition, asked him what was wrong. He told her, adding: "I have not done this man any harm that he should come and settle close to me and spoil my business." His wife cheered him up and said: "Do not worry, God will provide His children with food." However, he could not subdue his angry thoughts. One night his wife said to him: "Put these thoughts out of your mind and I will do something for you, that your work may prosper as it does now, if not better. I will make your rival dislike the place he proposes to take and return back to where he was. At least I will make him keep his distance from you. Just give me two or three beshliks." Taking the money, she went to Sheikh 'Aisa el-Akhras[1] and laid the matter before him. The Sheikh said: "I will not do any harm to that man, but I will do something to keep him away from your neighbourhood and make him stay where he is, so as not to bring harm upon you." When the woman had agreed to this he said: "First, your husband needs a *hijāb* (amulet) for himself, and some things for his shop. Take this *hijāb*, which is a *hijāb* of affection; if your husband wears it, everybody will like him. He must also place some roots of oleander (دفلي) above his shop. After that he must secretly smear some

[1] See *Q.S.*, 1917, pp. 76–80.

of the dung of a dog and of a black cat upon the lintel over the door of the shop which your rival is proposing to take. From that moment your rival will take a dislike to the place, and so will everybody who enters the shop. In my belief, he will very soon give up the place and return to his shop at the Damascus Gate."

The woman returned and carried out the Sheikh's instructions. As it happened, the time for renting houses had passed, and the man had been so busy that he had let the occasion slip. All his friends, when they heard that he was going to move his business from the Damascus Gate, tried to persuade him to stay there, protesting that everyone in the northern part of the city had been accustomed to take their meals at his establishment, and that if he moved to the Jaffa Gate no one would come to him there, and that he would be much wiser to stay where he was. And one day, when he went to look at the Jaffa Gate shop, he found that it had been let to some one else as a barley store, and on looking at it he took an aversion to it. As he was passing along the road the other man saw him and invited him in, and gave him coffee, and then said to him: "I hear you thought of taking a place here, and becoming my neighbour. Why have you given up the idea?" The man replied: "I have no longer any such idea. My work is going on satisfactorily, but if I come here I shall lose all my friends." The eating-house keeper then replied: "That is true, as the popular proverb says, 'Faces and thresholds (وجوه و عتاب).'" But he thought of the threshold which he had defiled; and he, and those in the secret, believed that this was the real cause of his rival's change of plan.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1917, p. 143.)

XXXVI. *The Israelite Wars against Damascus, and Recent Discoveries.*

The information derivable from the Assyrian historical inscriptions of Shalmaneser II and Rammanu-nirari—omitting the pacific intermediate monarch Šamši-Rammanu II—as illustrating events in Palestine under the Israelite kings Jehu, Jehoahaz, and Joash, has

been excellently set forth by Dr. Theophilus G. Pinches in his *Old Testament in the Light of the Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Chapter X.[1] Since that work was published, however, two monuments have been found with texts illustrating that period of international warfare in Syria, both of them concerning affairs of the kingdom of Damascus with which Assyria most of the time, and Israel during all the time, were fighting. The first of these is the Aramaic inscription, now well known to scholars, of Zakir, king of Hamath and Laas, in which he relates that Ben-, or (Aramaic) Bar-, Hadad (? III), son of Hazael of Damascus, whom he calls king of Aram, had organised against him a confederacy of a number of princes, and besieged him in Hazrak.[2] He, however, by the help of his god, Baal-Shamaim, defeated them. It will be seen at once that this weakening of the Syrians may explain Joash's victory over Ben-Hadad, and the recapture of the Israelite cities lost to Damascus by Jehoahaz. Ben-Hadad being absent warring to the north of Damascus, Joash found the opportunity favourable to invade the country to the south successfully.

The second new record is a black bead obtained from Babylon, bearing a cuneiform text upon it stating that Shalmaneser (II) brought it from the temple of the deity Sêr of Melaḫa, the residence of Hazael of the land of Damascus.

The inscription undoubtedly concerns Shalmaneser's 18th year campaign in 842 B.C. against Haza-ilu, a war which the Assyrian again summarises in his Black Obelisk record. Unless Zakir's victory was the cause, it also tends to confirm the old view, as against Schrader, that the helper, or saviour, of Israel of 2 Kings was Shalmaneser and not Rammanu-nirari. Schrader suggested the

[1] The Old Testament references to these events are, under Jehu—2 Kings x, 32, "Hazael smote the Israelites in all their coasts." (At this time Jehu was Assyria's vassal.) 2 Kings xiii, 3, "The Lord delivered Israel into the hand of Hazael, king of Syria"; verse 5, "The Lord gave Israel a saviour (or helper), so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians" (time of Jehoahaz); verse 22, "Hazael oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz"; verse 24, "Hazael died and Ben-Hadad reigned in his stead, and Joash took out of the hand of Ben-Hadad the cities he had, and three times did Joash beat him." Amos i, 4, "I will send a fire into the house of Hazael which shall devour the palace of Ben-Hadad."

[2] Hazrak should be the חדרך of Zechariah ix, 1, and, as Zakir's inscription is of the ninth–eighth centuries B.C., it makes the probability very strong that Zechariah, chapters ix, x and xi, are pre-Exilic; see Matthew xxvii, 9. Hazrak is the Assyrian Hatarika, and wars with it are recorded in cuneiform texts.

latter king because the second term of his name, nirari, "helper," was, he thinks, probably familiar to the mind of the writer of Kings, who made a verbal point of it.

Verse 5 of 2 Kings xiii certainly appears to show that the relief to Israel occurred in Hazael's time, which would be too early for Rammanu-nirari's reign, who was more a contemporary, or later than Ben-Hadad III; his father, Šamši-Rammanu, having reigned perhaps for thirteen years after Shalmaneser before coming to the throne. Joash recaptured the Israelite cities from Ben-Hadad apparently immediately after Hazael's death, whilst Adad-Nirari gives the name of his royal enemy of Damascus as Mari'u.[1]

The view that the "saviour" who helped Jehoahaz to lighten the Syrian yoke, and Joash to regain Israel's cities which had been incorporated with South Syria, was Shalmaneser (or Rammanu-nirari) may, however, be incorrect, because the aid possibly resulted from Ben-Hadad's disastrous campaign against Zakir of Hamath, as revealed to us by his Aramaic inscription mentioned in our preliminary paragraph.

It should be noted that the cause of Hazael's hostility, as set forth in 2 Kings x, may have been his annoyance, because Jehu accepted Shalmaneser as suzerain and paid him tribute, as disclosed by the Black Obelisk. Zakir attributes his deliverance and raising of the siege of Hazrak and rout of his foes to Baal-Shamaim, his name for his God. If this Zakir was the "saviour" whom Jehovah raised up, then the Lord (Baal) of the heavens, must have been another title of Jehovah-Shamaim (Gen. xxiv, 7). If so, this is not the only occasion upon which Jehovah and Baal, in the prolific pantheon of Semitic Syria and Palestine, have become somewhat intermingled. Upon an altar, said to have come from Gezer, and to be of Maccabean times, is an inscription: Ἡρακλέους νείκη Εὐνήλου πόυσις upon one face; upon the other: Εὐνηλου Τωνος Ἰάω Ἰνάσιου ἑορτη ἐιθύρ(αμσω), "Eunelos vaunts a victory with a dithyramb at the fêtes of Iao Inasios," a synchronism of Jehovah with the Baal of Ina at the base of Mount Hermon.[2]

XXXVII. *The Title of "King of Persia."*

In the *Princeton Theological Review* for January, 1917, Prof. Dick Wilson discusses the question as to whether the use of the title of

[1] M. R. Dussaud thinks that Mari'u is a title of Ben-Hadad III.

[2] See *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1909, 398 and 575: articles by Thiersch and Wünsch.

"king of Persia" by the authors of Chronicles, Daniel,[1] Ezra, and Nehemiah, as if it were the Palestinian idea of the correct formula to ascribe to the Persian dynasty, indicates that these books, or the sentences in which this phrase occurs, were written at the time to which they assign themselves, that of the early Achemenid empire, *circa* 539–432 B.C., or later. Some critics have alleged that the title could not have been used until the Greek period, and they have argued for a very late date of composition for all or part of these books, and, consequently, the question is of importance for Hebrew history.

Prof. Wilson shows, by a most careful collection of contemporary cuneiform inscriptions, both historical and commercial, that Nabonidus used it in reference to Cyrus between 547 and 539 B.C.; that Darius Hystaspes does so in the Behistun inscriptions, both in the Persian and the Susian recensions; and also that Herodotus reports this monarch as having done so upon a stele he erected at Tearus, in Thrace.

He cites thirteen cuneiform contract tablets terming Xerxes king of Persia. Xenophon also applies it to Darius II. Altogether either the monuments or the early classics use it for Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I and II, and Xerxes. The Old Testament for Cyrus, Darius I, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II. He is able to produce thirty-eight instances of its use in cuneiform and the classics between 545 and 400 B.C., whilst the earliest in the Old Testament is of 539 B.C., and the latest 422 B.C., between which dates it occurs thirteen times.

Incidentally, in his essay, Prof. Wilson illustrates the term Medes and Persians of the Old Testament by adducing twenty-five instances of the occurrence of the phrase, "king of Persia and Media" in cuneiform.

A further proof of the early date of the Hebrew writings which use the title king of Persia—supposing that they naturally conformed to the custom in vogue at their time—is that no single inscription later than Darius Codomanus employs the title king of Persia. The four Old Testament books, therefore, are not in any way impugned as to their genuineness, or as to their being composed during the Persian era, by their usage of the title.

[1] The presence of *Kh* in Daniel's spelling of Persian words agrees with the early South Persian inscriptions, whilst it is absent in the oldest MSS. of the Avesta, which are not much more recent than the Achemenid dynasty. This indicates the date of Daniel as about the sixth or fifth century B.C.

A few words may be added to Dr. Wilson's remarks as to the non-usage of king of Persia in many Babylonian and in all Egyptian references to the Achemenid kings, whilst in Palestine, as in Persia, it was accepted. Babylonians and Egyptians, by so doing, acknowledged that each individual Persian monarch was their own lord. They were conquered countries, and so, as a sign of subjection, expected to term the king king of Babylon, or of Egypt, or of the "Two Lands," meaning Upper and Lower Egypt. Palestine was not conquered by Persia; it fell into Persian hands as an appanage of Babylon, with its people in captivity in Mesopotamia. These exiles Cyrus and Darius restored to their own country, and, whilst remaining their suzerain, gave a semi-independence and absolute religious freedom. For the Jews, then, it was legitimate not to acclaim the king as king of Palestine. They and the Persians were monotheists, and it was probably, apart from any Divine providence, for that reason, that an amount of liberty was permitted to them beyond that of the other Satrapies.

XXXVIII. *Sardis the Site of Sepharad.*

The excavations up to the outbreak of war carried on by the United States explorers at Sardis, in Asia Minor, resulted in the discovery of a number of Greek inscriptions, and more than thirty in the unknown language and but partially known script of the Lydians. One of these, fortunately, was a bilingual text having what is apparently, to a certain extent, a duplicate version in Aramaic, a language in which, it is to be remembered, parts of the Books of Daniel and Ezra are extant, and also one or two other Old Testament fragments.

This inscription was first edited by Prof. Enno Littmann, but the Aramaic part has now been republished and translated by Mr. Stanley A. Cook, M.A., in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, and, although it is but a short sepulchral memorial, is of great interest, because it gives to Sardis the title of Sepharad, thus confirming the view of Lassen and Pusey that Sardis was the city called by this name by Obadiah.

The interesting portion of the inscription, because of the occurrence of the word twice over, is as follows: "Upon the fifth of Markhesvan, of the tenth year of Artaxerxes the king, in Sepharad the city. This stele and the cavern and the funerary

couches (?) and forecourts, which is above Sepharad, etc." The occurrence of the title Sepharad not only confirms the reading of the word in the Hebrew of Obadiah, as against the LXX which reads Εφρθα, but renders unfounded any suggestion as to the late period of the composition of the book because of the use of the name Sepharad.

There are other matters in the inscription of importance to Hebraists. Thus the word for city is *birēthā* (בירתא), the same word as used for a fortress in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, of Achmetha, Ezra vi, 2; compare the Assyrian word *birtu* and Kassite *bi-ir-ta*. We know from other sources that Sardis was a garrisoned town.

Artaxerxes is spelt as in the Elephantine papyri, and not as in the Hebrew of the Old Testament.

XXXIX. *Jewish Colonists in the Nile Delta.*

In Prof. Naville's account of his excavations at Tell el-Yahudieh, not far from Cairo, published in 1889 by the Egypt Exploration Fund under the title of "The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias," he printed several Greek inscriptions from Jewish sepulchre stones, bearing such names as Barchias, *i.e.*, Barak, or Barachiah; Nethaneus, *i.e.*, Nathan or Nethaniah; Mikkos, ? Micah, and Eleazar. These texts left no doubt as to the Hebrew race being represented among the inhabitants of the place in Ptolemaic times. There are, however, some more similar steles from the same site preserved among the Jewish antiquities in the Louvre. These relate to personages named Elazaros, John son of John, and a certain Sabbataios son of Somoelos (Σομοηλυ). They are of the time of Augustus. Sabbataios is a Jewish name that has been found for a Hebrew or Aramean at Nippur, in the Persian period, where Dr. Hilprecht reads it as Shab-ba-tai. It of course occurs in Ezra and Nehemiah, and again in the list of names in Aristeas, as one of the LXX translators. It has also been found upon a Jewish gravestone at On, or Heliopolis.

The earliest note in the Graeco-Egyptian papyri concerning a synagogue in Egypt, is the complaint of a lady that her cloak was stolen when she was attending a service; whether she was a Jewess is uncertain.

DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1913, p. 197.)

Autumn Visit, 1913.[1]

Accompanied by Mr. Hornstein I left Jerusalem at 10 a.m., November 14th, and reached the lower khan on the Jericho road at 1.15; left the khan at 2.15 and reached the north shore of the Dead Sea about 6. The atmosphere was brilliantly clear, and the Moab mountains stood out with every detail visible. The scene just at and after sunset, as we crossed the plain towards the Dead Sea, was one of extraordinary beauty. To the west the jagged outlines of the dark Judaean hills made a sharp contrast with the brilliant glow of the sunset sky; between us and them, the low ground, studded with bushes and small tamarisk trees, was overlaid by long horizontal layers of white smoke—like a mysterious mist—arising from upwards of half a dozen charcoal-burners' fires. To the east, beyond the weird broken cliffs bordering the Jordan, the whole eastern range was bathed in a rosy hue deepening in tint till at length the mountains appeared the colour of old bronze, variegated by dark blotches, the shadows of the numerous valleys. The eastern sky passed from a rosy pink to a lemon yellow: to the south, the glow died, and then suddenly the full moon—like a great flat disc—sharp in outline and moving with a stately mechanical precision—passed upwards into the sky. By the time we reached the shore the whole valley was flooded with moonlight. We spent the night on the shore itself. The sea on our first arrival was extraordinarily calm, with scarcely a ripple. The wind was from the north and continued so, more or less, all night, but was never more than a gentle breeze. At about 8.30 we were struck with the noise of what seemed like waves

[1] These notes, written at the time, were unfortunately mislaid.—E.W.G.M.

breaking all along the eastern shore. Then an hour later we heard a loud commotion due east of us, near the mouth of the Jordan, and then at 9.40, very suddenly, long diagonal waves running from S.E. to N.W. began rippling along the shore near us. They were not large waves, but they greatly incommoded some observations we were taking; they were most curious to watch as they glided diagonally past us, running in long succession along the beach. They made a considerable noise and continued for some hours—till 1 a.m. or later—but in the morning all was still. The caretaker of the hut at the shore told us that such a severe commotion was by no means constant every night, but I feel sure it has some explanation in the considerable fall of temperature which occurs some little time after sunset. Thus, though when we arrived the atmosphere was warm, we had soon to put on our great coats, and the latter part of the night we were shivering in spite of great coats and rugs. I wish particularly to call attention to this phenomenon—which I observed once before when I spent a night on the beach some years ago—because it accords so well with the observations of the Rev. Putnam Cady (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 47). He says: "A phenomenon on the Dead Sea that interested me may not be out of place here. On three successive nights" (spent, I may add, on the *east* shore) "at about 7.30, when no air was stirring, a heavy breaker would suddenly come pounding on the beach. After an interval another would come, and then a perfect bombardment would follow for an hour. Up to this time the sea would be perfectly quiet and during and after it no air stirred." Except that I would hardly describe the first waves as "heavy breakers," the description tallies with what we observed and the sounds on the eastern shore of breaking waves, which very probably were going on some time before we noticed them—would well fit in with this account of Mr. Cady. But if so the waves must have run first towards the east and then there must have been a recoil, as it were, producing the diagonal waves, running N.W. which we observed. I may add that when we first heard the waves I could not believe the sound could be produced by water, the sea near us was so absolutely calm, but thought it must be wind in the gullies of the Moab hills. Lastly, I think this phenomenon must have much to do with the formation of that long line of foam, the "white line," which seems to drift most mornings across the lake from the east to the west shores. The effect of the waves, where we were, was

to produce quite a considerable line of foam upon the small-pebble beach. I may say that the wave phenomenon is nothing to do (as Sir Charles Wilson suggested, *loc. cit.*, p. 49) with seiches, because I was actually engaged in recording seiches at the time, and the seiches, which were well marked before, disappeared temporarily during the wave bombardment.

We left our quarters on the north shore at 8.30 a.m. (November 15th) and rode to *'Ain Feshkhah* by a road passing *'Ain Jehayar*. Near this latter spot we passed a low hill called *Tell Rakaban*, where, we heard, several columns were recently unearthed by the Bedouin who hastily covered them up again for fear of the government. The man in charge of the hut showed us a number of Roman coins (*circa* second century A.D.) which he *said* he had found at this site.

We passed several charcoal burners loading their sacks of fuel upon donkeys. The oasis of *'Ain Feshkhah* was well populated by Bedouin herdsmen with camels, goats, and sheep. The reeds were very flourishing. There was no stream running from *Haish el-Mukdam*. Sand partridges were plentiful all over the rocks inland. We arrived at 10.30—at once proceeded to the Observation Rock, returned to the pool, bathed, lunched and started for Jerusalem at 1 p.m. We came home by *Nebi Mûsa* and the old road, reaching Jerusalem about 8.30 p.m.

Measurements.—At P.E.F. rock, 13 feet 8 inches, a fall of 25 inches since the Spring. At the pool the level of the water was 13 inches *above* the mark, a fall of 15 inches.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The decipherment of unknown scripts is very much to the fore just now. In *The Expository Times*, Dec., 1916, Prof. James Hope Moulton gives a brief account of a recent German solution of the Hittite problem.[1] The *Mittheilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, No. 50 (Dec., 1915), contains a detailed study by

[1] Since this was written, the news has arrived of the sad and untimely end of this great scholar. Of the many beloved and accomplished scholars who have lost their lives during this war, few will be so much missed in the field of Biblical scholarship.

Prof. Hrozný, in continuation of the work by the late Hugo Winckler, of the Hittite and other tablets discovered by him at Boghaz-keui in Cappadocia. "He gives us an outline of the phonology and accidence of the Hittite language, as shown by words from the inscriptions . . . and the result, in a sentence, is that Hittite was *an Indo-European language, and one belonging to the Western half of the family* . . . of which Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic are the great representatives." In an introduction, Prof. Eduard Meyer thinks that the Indo-European character of Hittite may be tentatively accepted. "In that case," observes Prof. Moulton, "we have for the second time within a few years a new ancient language of our family emerging from discoveries in Asia. Tokharian [the other language] discovered in the Turfan documents, is like Hittite in that it raises at present as many questions as it solves." It is noteworthy that "the general impression of the [Hittite] vocabulary is decidedly foreign: for all the identity of flexion and the smaller words, we are dealing with a thoroughly mixed language—one very much like English in that respect, as we might add. This answers to what we know of Hittite civilization." The new decipherment points to an influx of Indo-European elements into Asia Minor early in the second millennium or at least in the middle of it, quite distinct from the Indo-Iranian that have made their way into the Mitanni. On the question of how the Indo-Europeans entered eastern Asia Minor there are conflicting answers. Prof. Meyer thinks he can trace birch-bast found in an Egyptian tomb to Hittite origin. The birch is an Indo-European tree and foreign to Asia. Hrozný, however, believes that the Hittites came across the Bosphorus, while the Aryans came round the north of the Black Sea; and he conjectures that they had a large part in destroying the Hammurapi dynasty (twentieth century B.C.). "They reached their climax of power in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, from which most of these inscriptions come. They were powerful throughout Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine. It is interesting to find an Indo-European element in the pre-Israelite population of Palestine. The Hittites are to be regarded as prehistoric intermediaries between Europe and Asia. What we read of them in historical times comes from an age when they had long passed their prime." Accordingly, it is obvious that we are only at the beginning of a new conception of the historical, ethnographical and other conditions which prevailed

throughout that central area which, for the sake of convenience, may be called by the old-fashioned title of "The Bible Lands." Yet, enough is clear to prove, not only that European designs in the direction of Bagdad go back to very ancient times, but also that Palestine was far more deeply saturated with un-Oriental influence than is usually realized. This latter point is of great importance for the study of the Old Testament and of Palestinian archaeology, because, in the first place, it leads us to reconsider the ordinary preconceptions in the light of which we usually approach the Sacred Books; and, in the second place, the questions become more urgent whether the apparent "Philistine" influence in Palestine is not rather that of Asia Minor and the Levant generally, and whether, that is, enough care has been taken to distinguish the specifically "Philistine" influences from those which belong more generally to that part of the non-Oriental world. See further on this point, *Q.S.*, 1913, p. 205 *seq.*

It is again to Asia Minor that we turn for another remarkably interesting piece of decipherment—to Lydia. The American Society for the Excavation of Sardis discovered several Lydian inscriptions, and among them an extremely fine bilingual in Lydian and Aramaic, of the fifth or fourth century B.C. These have been edited by Dr. Enno Littmann, a member of the excavation-party, and form Vol. VI, Part I, of the complete publication. The bilingual is a funereal inscription of the 10th year of Artaxerxes; it specifies a grave and certain other objects as the property of M-n-y, son of K-m-l-y, of S-r-w-k, and invokes Artemis of K-l-w and of Ephesus to punish him who injures the grave.[1] The general style is familiar, but unfortunately the Aramaic in some important places is (1) very obscure, and (2) evidently does not agree with the Lydian. None the less it is possible to ascertain a good deal about the Lydian language, and the discovery and decipherment of the bilingual will mark a stage in the history of this subject. Here again, although much is admittedly difficult and uncertain, we find ourselves partly with Etruscan and Hittite analogies, and partly with Indo-European. What is of immediate interest is the fact that the Aramaic section speaks of *S-f-r-d*, and thus equates Sardis and Sepharad (Obadiah, verse 20). The Biblical Sepharad has often been

[1] A facsimile and discussion of the Aramaic inscription by the present writer will be found in the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

located in some part of Asia Minor, as also has S(a)parda, which occurs in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions. Another interesting point is the reference in the Aramaic inscription to the *p-r-b-r* of the tomb; this can scarcely be any other than the Parbar of 1 Chron. xxvi, 18, which the R.V. marg. renders "precinct." The Semitic connexions of Lud, Lydia, are problematical, although the author of Gen. x includes Lud among the sons of Shem; but there is something exceptionally interesting if we may compare Obadiah, verse 20, and Isaiah xlix, 12, for, according to the latter passage, the prophet looks for the return of the exiles from Sinim (*i.e.*, Syene, Elephantine in Upper Egypt), while, in the former, the captives of Jerusalem who are in Sepharad are to return to possess the cities of Judah. The presence of a Jewish colony at Elephantine has been known now for a few years; may we assume from the Aramaic inscription at Sardis that this language was used not merely as the *lingua franca* of the Persian Empire, but because there were there Semites, if not Jews, if not—indeed—captives from Jerusalem?

Turning to the more remote South we have the decipherment and translation of the inscriptions of Meroë in Egypt by Dr. Griffith and Prof. Sayce; see the *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VII, pp. 67 *sqq.* Finally, mention must be made of investigations by Dr. Alan H. Gardiner and Dr. A. E. Cowley on the origin of the Semitic alphabet and on the reading of some unknown characters found at the Egyptian temple of Serābīṭ el-Khādim in the Sinaitic Peninsula. These date, roughly, about 1500 B.C.—if not earlier—and although they are not in Egyptian hieroglyphic, many of the signs are obviously borrowed from that source. In the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. III, Part I, Jan., 1916, Dr. Gardiner advances several independent arguments in support of the theory of the Egyptian origin of the Semitic alphabet, and he asks whether these unknown Sinaitic characters may not be the "long-sought proto-Semitic script." Now, there is one sequence of four letters which recurs from four to six times, and which can very easily be read "Ba'alath" (בעלת). Nothing is more probable than that this should be the name of the local goddess, and that it should be mentioned on the Sinaitic inscriptions, and Dr. Gardiner's very clever suggestion has a great deal in its favour. Dr. Cowley then proceeds to follow up this clue and succeeds in identifying other characters and in reading a dozen or so words. It must be recognised that the whole subject is still in the realm of

conjecture; but it was through repeated conjecture and elimination of error that the cuneiform inscriptions were deciphered, and the start which has been made upon these old Sinaitic characters is a good one.[1]

As regards Dr. Gardiner's theory of the Egyptian origin of the Semitic alphabets, the troublesome problem is the presence of three branches: (*a*) the South Semitic, (*b*) the North Semitic, and (*c*) the closely related alphabets of Greece and Asia Minor. The task is to do justice both to the close relation between *b* and *c*, and to the very distinctive features of *a*. It is evident that considerable time must be allowed for the marked divergencies between *a* on the one side, and *b* and *c* on the other; and Dr. Gardiner thinks that, at the lowest estimate, the proto-Semitic script, from which all the three types are derived, cannot be later than 1100 B.C. The fact that weighs most with me is the very close relationship among all the North Semitic alphabets during the ninth to seventh centuries (roughly), and the subsequent variations in the history of the Phoenician, Hebrew and Aramaean subdivisions. Whether we turn to the extreme north of Syria, or to Moab, or to Cyprus (the Baal-Lebanon inscription), or to Gezer (viz., the old "Calendar" inscription), we find practically only one common alphabet. This fact (to quote Prof. A. A. Bevan, *Ency. Biblica*, art. "Writing," § 3): "does not favour the view that the alphabet had been for many centuries in common use, for in that case local types would have tended to diverge more widely, as is shown by the later history of Semitic writing." Moreover, one is tempted to infer that some definite historical factor led to the distribution over Palestine and Syria of an alphabet which, if it had been accepted independently by independent peoples, would probably have had, forthwith, independent local forms. What the presumed factor was is, of course, unknown, but, for various reasons, I am inclined to conjecture that we should look to the north. These conjectures, however, do not materially affect Dr. Gardiner's theory; they concern the origin of a particular alphabet (viz., the North Semitic), which, even if it entered Palestine from the north, may have been primarily derived from Egypt. On the other hand, if (on

[1] Other attempts have been made to decipher the Sinaitic texts, including one by the Rev. F. de P. Castells in *Church and Synagogue*, April, 1909; and Mr. E. J. Pilcher in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXXI, 1 (January, 1909).

Dr. Gardiner's theory) Egypt is the immediate origin of the Semitic scripts, we still require definite historical causes to account for the distribution and for the very clear and definitely related forms in use in Palestine and Syria at the period mentioned above. I am not sure whether it is better, with Dr. Gardiner, to take the Sinaitic script as proto-Semitic, or to assume that it is a non-Semitic script which has made use of characters which also happen to be Semitic. But it must be stated that Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Cowley at least present a very intelligible and attractive theory, and there is nothing, *a priori*, improbable about it, especially when we consider how the turquoise mines of Sinai, like the incense trade of Arabia, could be responsible for intercourse, influence, and for the promulgation of forms of writing. It was through the South Arabian trade with India that one popular theory (adopted by Taylor) explained the Semitic origin of the "Brahmi" alphabet of India, and it seems to me that a coherent theory of distribution is as important as the theory of the origin of a script.

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